

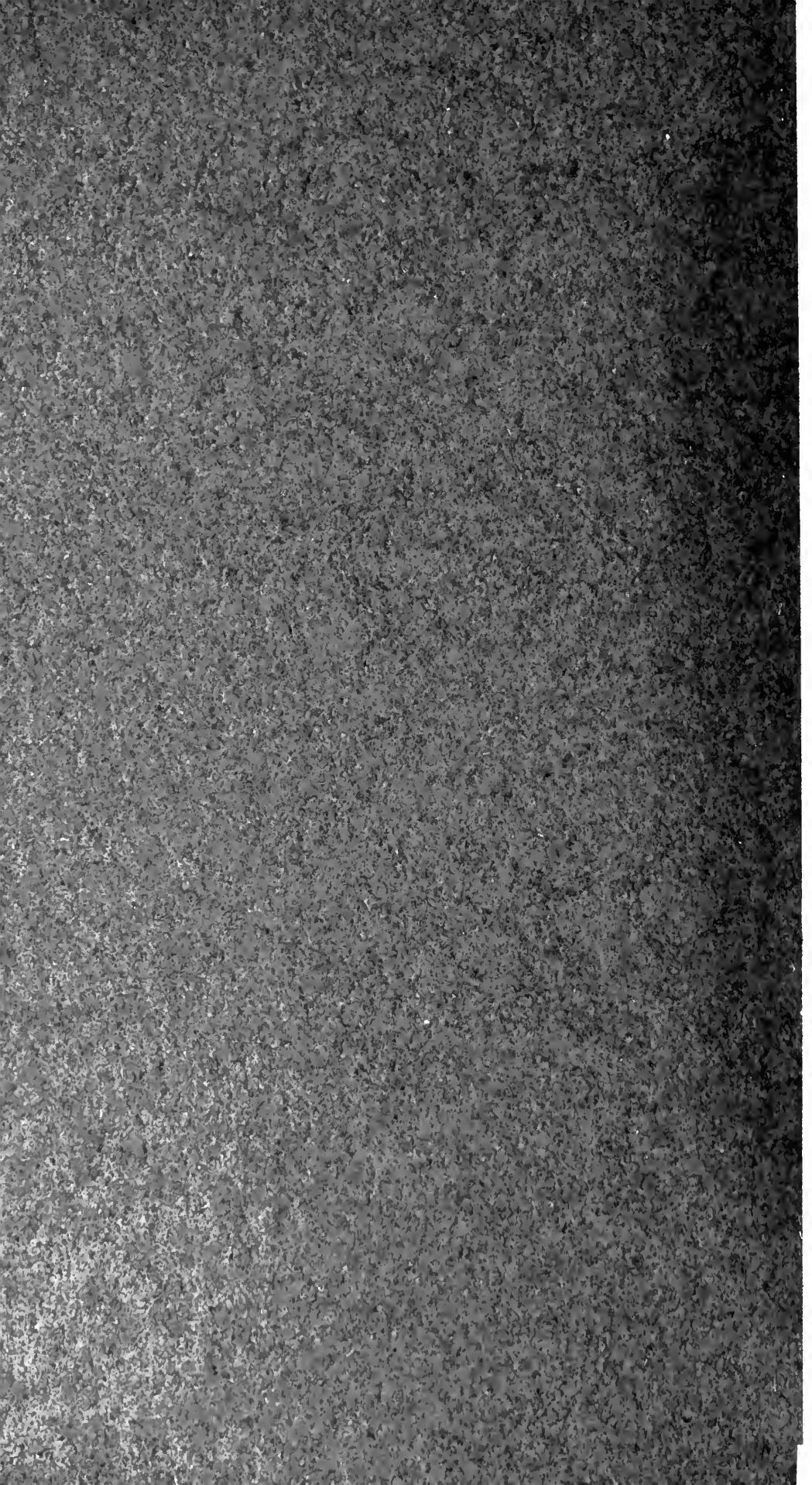
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NATHANAEL RICHARDS'

TRAGEDY OF MESSALLINA

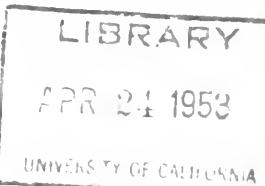
THE ROMAN EMPERESSE.

Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung
der Doktorwürde der hohen philosophischen Fakultaet
der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universitaet zu Strassburg E.

VORGELEGT

von

ARTHUR ROWLAND SKEMP



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Druck und Verlag der Materialien zur Kunde
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INTRODUCTION

§ I. LIFE OF RICHARDS. Particulars of the life of Nathanael Richards have already been published by Mr Thomas Seccombe, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. We summarize here the salient points.

Nathanael was the son of Richard Richards, rector of Kentisbury in Devonshire, and was born at the parsonage there about 1612. After four years' grounding at Torrington School, he was admitted on the 28th of Feb. 1628-9 at Caius College, Cambridge, where he held a scholarship for three years, and whence he graduated LL. B. in 1634. He was for some time (about 1640) master of St. Albans School, London ; and later appears to have succeeded his father at Kentisbury, where he was «preaching minister» in 1654. The date of his death is quite uncertain ; but (a point not noted by Mr Seccombe) it must fall after May 18th, 1660, as on this date Richards published a poem «Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles Of England the Second» (v. i. p. 26 f.).

An engraved portrait of Richards is prefixed to *Messalina* in the B. M. copy, 162. b. 15 (missing in the second B. M. copy, 643. a. 37). It makes the poet look older than his probable age of 28 years ; with a grave, somewhat sanctimonious face ; the forehead not very high, but broad ; the nose large and slightly arched ; the brows strongly arched ; and the eyes long and wide open, giving a rather surprised look. He wears a moustache and a small pointed tuft of beard. The flowing hair is crowned with bays. He is dressed in a plain coat, close buttoned, with a plain large white overcollar reaching to the shoulders, and over-cuffs. The left hand holds a book, closed, the forefinger keeping the place. On the poet's left is a tree ; on his right a conventional flower ; and in the background, a conventional landscape, with a church, mountains, trees, a road, and two problematical cows. Round the portrait run the mottoes « Sen-



tit supera non terrestria | Suspice cœlum | Despice mundum |
Respice finem » divided above by a coat of arms, under which
stands the motto « Cœlum cupio ». Below the portrait is a scroll,
bearing the inscription « Vera ac viva Effigies Nathanaelis
Richards, Gent. T. R. sculp. ».

§ 2. WORKS. Richards' known works, in chronological order,
are :

1636 *The Celestiall Publican.*

1632 *Poems, Divine, Morall, and Satyricall.*

1640 (1) *The Tragedy of Messallina, the Roman Emperesse.*

(2) Commendatory verses prefixed to T. Rawlins' tragedy
The Rebellion.

1641 *Poems Sacred and Satyricall.*

1650 *Truth's Acrostick.*

1657 Commendatory verses prefixed to Middleton's *Women
beware Women.*

1660 Upon the Declaration of His Majesty King Charles Of
England the Second.

*Messalina*¹⁾ , Richards' sole dramatic effort, though never
hitherto reprinted, has at least received fairly adequate notice
from the historians of the drama. His other work has fared
worse. Fry's *Bibl. Memoranda* include an account of the *Poems
Sacred and Satyricall*, with excerpts ; but otherwise the poems
have been allowed to remain forgotten. We may therefore
review them at some length, before passing on to deal with
Messalina.

All Richards' non-dramatic poetry is in the heroic couplet.

(1.) *The Celestiall Publican* (Small Svo. Copies in the B. M.²⁾
and the Huth Library).

The title-page runs :

¹⁾ The titlepages spell *Messallina* ; but in « The Actors Names » and
throughout the play stands *Messalina*. To avoid the confusion of two spellings,
I have used the latter, correct form in citing the play by its contracted
title.

²⁾ In the B. M. copy (1677 d. 22), at the end, is bound up a copy of Nicholas
Breton's rare poem *A Solemne Passion of the Soules Love*. The title-page and
opening stanzas are missing, and this copy has therefore hitherto passed
unrecognised, being catalogued only under *Richards*.

The | Celestiall | Publican. | A Sacred Poem : Liuely describing the Birth, | Progresse, Bloody Passion, and | glorious Resurrection of our | Saviour. |

The Spirituall Sea-Fight. |

The Mischieuos Deceites of | The World, The Flesh. | The Vicious Courtier. The Lesuite. | The Divell. | Seuen severall Poems, with sundry | Epitaphs and Anagrams. |

By Nathanael Richards Gent. |

Cœlum Cupio. |

London, | Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for Roger | Michell. 1630.

Prefixed to the poems named on the title-page are two introductory poems. The first, *The Author*, is an acrostic, the initial letters of the verses forming the name Nathanael Richards. It strikes Richards' characteristic note — *sentite supera non terrestra* — which is again heard, as indeed throughout all his work, in the second prefatory poem : *To the Heauenly Lover of Diuine Poems* : 24 verses, abusing the « vicious-minded Foole » who lives for lust and « rails » at « desert »; and dedicating the volume

« ... to thee, whose Sacred Soule desires
Celestiall Solace, Heanenly Holy fires... »

The poems named on the title-page then follow.

The Celestiall Publican : 520 verses, of which, however, verses 83-138 are missing in the B. M. copy¹⁾. Richards begins the poem by bewailing his wickedness : God alone can save him, the most desperate of sinners. Especially he begs for deliverance from habitual sin, and sets forth its awfulness. Then he recalls past mercies : —

« In my Extreames of griefe, I call'd on thee,
Mercifull God, and thou didst set me free,
Thou wert my onely Comfort in distresse,
Food, Rayment, all my Care in heauinesse,

¹⁾ Mr Seccombe states, in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, that there are « perfect copies » of *The Celestiall Publican* in the B. M. and Huth Libraries. I have not inspected the Huth Library copy — for the purpose of this sketch it is unnecessary — but the above imperfection in the B. M. copy is clear from the pagination (B₄ and its complementary sheet are missing), and from the catchword (« Field » is the catchword following l. 82 ; while the next extant page begins « Beseech »). Further, F₄ is mutilated, as noted in the B. M. catalogue. The verse-numbering of our quotations allows for the loss of ll. 83-138. As the poem is put together with but little organic connection, the loss in no way disturbs its effect.

My true Physitian in unruly madnesse,
Celestiall Musicke, in my sadest sadnessse,
Though all the World forsake me, God is kinde,
He solace giues to my disconsolate minde.
O be the same for euer, may no ill
Seduce my soule to disobay thy will... »¹⁾

He continues to mingle protestations of sinfulness with prayers for grace and deliverance, especially from lust :

* Like Joseph (Mighty Maker) make me fly
The tempting Baites of Beauties burning Eye.
Diuert my sad distressed soule from vice,
And Rauish me with loue of Paradice.
Let not my wand'ring Eyes swimme in the fire
Of Lust-stung lookes ; nor let the loose desire
Of womans naked Paps, burne out mine Eyes
With sencelesse gazing ; make me to despise
All base desires, sinnes of ill-gouern'd youth
All wicked Customes, against thy sacred Truth... »²⁾

This strain continues up to v. 306 ; then, at v. 307, Richards passes into a rapturous narrative of the Nativity. The following verses give a favourable specimen : —

* When Christ was borne, all were new born agen,
Nere³⁾ came like Musicke to the Hearts of Men :
Angels for ioy, clap their Celestiall Wings,
And cu'ry Saint, cu'ry Crownd Martyr Sings
(Magnifico Deum) ». ⁴⁾

Verses 363-372 are arranged in diamond form, and named « the Adamant of Glory ». Then follows an account of the Passion :

* Alone for us, (Heau'ns Glorious Lampe of Grace
Grou'ling on Earth) fell on his sacred Face,
He that is euer Lord of Mercies seate,
Water'd the Garden Cedron with the sweate
Of bloody Browes, and Body ; heauinesse,
And deadly sorrow, seiz'd his blessednesse ». ⁵⁾

Two more « figures » follow — « The Key of Heauen » (two crosses, each composed of 16 vv.) and « The Pyramid of Paradise » (vv. 451-468). The remaining 70 verses give a passionate exhortation against sin ; for example —

¹⁾ vv. 65-75.

²⁾ vv. 161-170.

³⁾ Nere : ne'er.

⁴⁾ v. 331 ff.

⁵⁾ v. 377 ff.

« O you that stand on Pynacles of state
Let not the world deceiue you, lest too late
From off your slipp'ry height you come in thrall
[T]o ¹⁾ pash yourselves in peeces past recall.
Sell not fare Lord-ships to keepe Lady-ships, ²⁾
Nor sucke damnation from a strumpets lips.
Touch not those Spells of Sparta, let 'em ³⁾ Rot
When Vertue rules in Man, Lust liues forgot ». ⁴⁾

The poem is marked by much repetition, not only of thought, but also of phrase. Metaphor, and still more, simile, are freely used. For example, the soul is compared to a ship among rocks, or mastless in a storm ; to a fly beguiled by a Spider ; to a bird caught by a limed twig ; man is « fortune's football » ⁵⁾ ; life « a game at tables »; the heart is like «a frighted Deere»; and so on.

Despite verbosity, conventional phraseology and occasional bathos, a genuine fervour makes itself felt ; while the verse is sometimes really musical, and always far more workmanlike than that of *Messalina*.

The Spirituall Sea-fight (208 vv.) opens, addressing the « Emprouer of Angels », with a lament on the temptations to which man is exposed, describing the devil's attacks on the defenceless soul. The sea-fight metaphor from which the poem is named begins at v. 21 : —

« My Soul's a Ship, tost on the Mountaine Seas
Of this vast World, she never liues at ease :
Her sayles are sighes, her Anchor deepe despaire,
Her Compasse Error, her sad Pilot, Care :
Farre off from safeties shore, floates on the waues
Of fearefull billowes, Soul devouuring Graunes,
Rough, blistring, stubborne stormes, yeeld no relief [.]
On every Shrowd, Each Tackling, hangs a grieve :
Death like a darke cloud, besets every Place,
Here Rocks of Ruine, there ⁶⁾ Pyrates lie in Chase
In euery corner, Mischiefes hourelly luke,
Pride fights against us like a furious *Tweke* ;
Lust like a trech'rous *Spaniard* ; murd'ring *French*,

¹⁾ T missing in text.

²⁾ Borrowed from Tourneur's *Revenge's Tragdy*, Act III (Dodsley-Hazlitt, X. p. 60) : « Are lordships sold to maintain ladyships ? »

³⁾ Text reads « c'm ».

⁴⁾ v. 481 ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. Webster, *Duchess of Malfi* V. 4 :

« We are merely the stars' tennis balls, struck and bandied
Which way please them ».

⁶⁾ Text reads « their ».

Like an infected poyson's loathsome stench,
Gluttonie like a *Germaine*, drunkennesse
Like a *Dutih Dun-kercker*; whose impiousnesse
Stiles him the Master Gunner, to giue fire
To all sinnes blacke Artillery, Hell's Ire
Infernall chaine-shot, All soule-murd'ring strite,
To sinke Man's weather-beaten ship of Life ». ¹⁾

The soul's fight against the devils of sin is described, still in the metaphor of the sea-fight. Then follows a description of the voyage of the ship of the soul to the Holy Land : Truth is its « card » the Holy Ghost its pilot, and at the port (« the Cape of Comfort ») waits Christ, to whom all must pray for help in the storm.

At v. 105, the nautical metaphor gives way to a military metaphor. The need for constant struggle and watchfulness is emphasised, and the uncertainty of life. Then the hosts of sin, waiting to attack the soul, are described : —

« Gluttonie for a Corporall do's stand,
Au'rice a Pioner, Sloth you may spie
An idle Gentleman of a Company.
Wrath's the Serieant, Enuie the Coloures gaine,
Lust the Liefenant is; Pride the Captaine ». ²⁾

The poem then closes with a prayer for strength in « The Holy Battle ». Under the poem stands the motto *Spes mea Christo*. ³⁾

The most noteworthy point about *The Spirituall Sea-fight* is the vigour with which the metaphor — the obviousness of which must, however, be admitted — is sustained ; while secondary metaphors and similes are profusely introduced, often with a marginal note to ensure their recognition ! Richards displays in all his work great fondness for simile and metaphor, especially for the former ; and this poem is his most determined exercise therein.

Richards' Satires. The two poems described above are « divine and morall »; the next four of this volume are satirical ; the last, though containing touches of satire, returns rather to the ear-

¹⁾ v. 21 ff.

²⁾ v. 104 ff.

³⁾ *Su*, for [in] Christo.

lier moral type. Richards' satire is of the direct, cudgelling variety¹⁾ — smashing invective, without any attempt at irony — and is levelled against general faults and vices, scarcely ever against individuals. The denunciation of Garnett, in *The Jesuite*, which forms the exception necessitating the qualification in the last statement, is indeed only an apparent exception (v. i., p. 11 f.).

Richards' favourite object of attack is lust ; above all, the lust of women, which he regards as the usual cause of sin in men : points instructive for the choice of subject, and its treatment, in *Messalina*. It is here especially that Juvenal's influence shows itself, many passages recalling the 6th Satire²⁾, though few close imitations occur. Less frequently (in one entire poem and several incidental references), but ever more bitterly, Richards attacks the Jesuits. The stock objects of satire — corruption in office-holders and at the Court, the neglect of true poetry and the support of vicious verse, vanity in dress, and so on, receive vigorous though less frequent attention.

Richards' satires thus show the tendencies natural to his education. The first volume of his poems, containing the bulk of his satirical work, was published when he was (probably) only eighteen years old — an undergraduate, whose experience of life was limited to the Devonshire rectory and school, with a few terms at the University. He was probably primed from home with moral maxims against the world, the flesh and the devil, above all against the enticements of woman ; and with a hearty hatred for the Jesuits. The rectory flavour is strong in his work, and the persistence of the same tendencies in his later productions shows that they harmonised with his character as well as with his education. These antecedents make very comprehensible the precocity of Richards' moral strictures, which, however, the « sense of sin » in himself saves from degeneration into mere priggishness.

In style, the satires differ from the sacred poems chiefly in their less frequent use of simile and metaphor ; a difference

¹⁾ The method of the followers of Juvenal, to borrow Dryden's classification.

²⁾ Especially in *The Vicious Courtier* (v. p. 10).

natural to, though not compelled by, the difference in subject and standpoint.

The World (satire, 216 vv.) opens with a diatribe on «this strumpet World» and proceeds to condemn categorically the follies and sins of the age; first, vanity and love of show, then the sins of the bribed magistrate, the «knaue Knight», the ambitious and lustful lord and lady, the jealous husband, the careless clergyman, the greedy lawyer. The rapid gain of wealth by the wicked, and the ill fortune of the deserving, are described; life is a «long sad Pilgrimage of woe», «a cunning ginne» to «entrap soules», and prayer alone can bring help. At v. 109 begins an interesting passage on the public attitude to poetry, recalling the opening address *To the Heauenly Lover of Diuine Poems* (v. s. p. 3)

As Prose ill read, abide[s] too much misusing,
Or Virtuous verse, when rogues haue the perusing,
So fares it with the faire and flourishing Line,
Of that sweet Heauenly straine, Poesie divine,
Basely neglected by the Monster Crew.
Of Puff-Paste muddie Mindes ; that pish, and mew,
Make a wry, Close-stool-face : a squintey'd glance
At Virtuous verse : whose sad mischance
Is to goe unregarded¹⁾, when the crime
Of a lasciuious, Bastard, Ballet rime,
(If baudy enough) though ne'r so unsit
Wins fauour, profit, and the praise of wit.
Read with delight, and much, too much requir'd,
Coppies fought after, gredily desir'd²⁾.

Amongst this vicious, successful poetry is mentioned «wanton Ouid's straine»; while Richards' own view of the function of art appears, with most emphatic capitals :

«The Glorious Godly Aime of Noble Verse
Which points at Heau'n...»²⁾

Prayers for mercy and for salvation from sin follow, recalling *The Celestiall Publican*. Then follows a passage on the miseries of want, so feeling as almost to suggest that Richards knew

¹⁾ The text has a single bracket, following *unregarded*; the earlier bracket, which is missing, was presumably intended to precede *whose*.

²⁾ v. 137 f.

the pinch, despite the tolerable circumstances indicated by the known facts of his life¹⁾.

« Mis'ry of Miseries, when Coyne growes scant
Man's Fortun's Foot-ball²⁾, ther's no woe to want.
It dulls braue witts, when nothing else can doe it ;
Tames, and makes desp'rare when Time brings us to it
Want makes a man Turn Slaue, unto a Slaue
Scoft, scorn'd, and flouted at by eu'ry knaue
By eu'ry silken sodden-headed Foole
That never felt Heau'n's scourge, nor Mis'ries Schoole ».³⁾

He exhorts the reader therefore to pray against want, and concludes with a prayer that the good may at last escape to Heaven,

« Free from this World ; whose Pompe, and Brauery,
Is but a Land of Durt, meere slauery ».

The Flesh (satire, 110 vv.; vv. 9 and 10 lost, and v. 11 damaged, by the mutilation of page F₄ at the top). Here Richards finds the true centre of the vicious trinity, touched already in *The World* and again in *The Divell*. A few lines may serve as specimen :

« Man at the best, is now become so fraile
As what cannot a spruce Queane, with a smooth Taile,
Make him belceue : such witchcraft euer fly,
Lust reuell in the Magicke of her eye.
That star-shooting, twinkelng eye, do's ne'r shine,
But to the Ruine, of all thoughts diuine.
Twixt her aluring Lips, there liues a Spell
To sucke, and sincke, and kisse a man to Hell.
Touch but her Palmes, there sinnes moist hand innites
To a soul-damning Banquet ; such delights.
As often make the wisest Man an Asse,
Coward, and Foole, Times vicious Looking-Glasse ».⁴⁾

Richards then specially mentions « nice dames » who protest honesty, but « like the Jesuite » are secretly insatiate — an idea repeated in *Messalina*, IV. 250 ff. Tears of repentance are the only cure for lust ; and, in conclusion, the poet exorcises lust from himself in the names of the Trinity and of Chastity.

¹⁾ At this time (1630 or rather earlier) he was enjoying a scholarship at Caius College (v. s., p. 1); but that does not preclude the possibility that « Coyne » grew « scant ».

²⁾ Repeating a metaphor from *The Celestiall Publican*, v. p. 5, note 5.

³⁾ v. 169 ff.

⁴⁾ v. 67 ff.

The Vicious Courtier (satire, 270 vv.) opens with a declaration that the satire is innocent of malice against any individual ; it is to be applied generally — a « harmlesse Satyr » an « honest Satyr », the object of which is

« The Vicious Courtier[,] he whose Mushrome sight
Time stiles ignoble, a mere Carpet Knight.
A Lazie Lust-stung Lord, perjur'd, uniust,
Slaue to the Itching of his Mistris Lust.
One that admires her brauery with Oathes
Much wicked wit consumes in gawdy Cloathes :
Which speakes him to the World a March-paine Man
A very mighty Muske-Cat ; one that can,
(To please State-strumpets) turne Capitall Calfe
Reu'rence her shooe-shadow, in her behalfe
Sweare by Olympicke Ioue, she's the Fairest
That e're breath'd, most Excellent, the Rarest ». ¹⁾

Richards denounces the tricks and vanities of the courtier — painting, powdering the hair, scenting the person with amber ; and sighs for the days when knights were true knights, ready to protect the virgin and succour the distressed. Then, in a passage (vv. 101-114) of which eight verses are worked into *Messalina* ²⁾, he describes the degradation of serving a vicious master. Next is satirised the courtier who, pretending friendship, plots against or even poisons his dearest friends ; then the flattering courtier, who tricks the great into unwise or treasonable speech and betrays them. This part of the poem especially gives the impression of a poetic exercise modelled on the Roman satirists, and completely uninformed by personal experience. The country-bred undergraduate, eighteen years old at the most, could indeed know the treacheries of the court only from hearsay, elaborated by recollections of the classical satirists. There is a very boyish touch in the warning which follows : one should go to Court only to see it, beware of its maze of sin. After more denunciations of courtiers' pride, vanity, readiness for murder, and above all, of their lust, Richards returns yet again to his favourite object of attack, the profligacy of women, in a long

¹⁾ v. 29 ff.

²⁾ *Messalina* IV. 286 ff.; v. note ad loc.

passage distinctly recalling Juvenal's sixth Satire ¹⁾ :

« Neuer was any great Arch-mischief done,
But by a Whore, or a Priest, first begun ²⁾.

Why should the else, with painting seeme more faire ?
Suffer her naked Breasts lie open bare ?
Why use false coulour'd haire, Embost with Gold ?
Pouned with Perfumes, Lockes curled to behold ?
Why Oyles ? Waters for Teeth ? Why void of Grace ?
With spots (like Rats-Dung) to blacke patch the face ?
Or why (in Baths of Milke) wash her proud skin ? ³⁾
Why wrong Heau'ns workmanship, with such hie sin ?
If not like Circe, by enchantment strange,
Men into Beasts and Beast-like natures change ». ⁴⁾

Twenty verses more are devoted to special condemnation of the practice of painting the face. Then the poem concludes, rather abruptly, with eight verses declaring that the wise man will fly from the strumpet and from all sin.

This poem, more even than the others, is marked by constant repetition ; strictures on lust especially recurring again and again, with the same ideas dressed in only slightly varying phrases.

The Jesuite (satire, 164 vv.). Richards first declares that he means to write only what he knows to be true :

« Not like ⁵⁾ Masse-Priest, he whose mouth is cram'd
With words ⁶⁾ speak all Protestants are damn'd.
Him nor his Flocke, I dare not censure so,
Nor mean to write more than I iustly know
To be most true ; In which knowne Path I finde,
Counterfeit Catholiques, so grossely blinde.

¹⁾ Cf. especially vv. 231-2 with Sat. VI. 120-4

*...nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galere
intravit calidum veteri centone lupanar
et cellam vacuam atque suam. Tunc nuda papillis
constituit auratis titulum...*

Here we have the explanation of Richards' strange phrase « false coulour'd haire, Embost with Gold » ; he transfers the description from « papillis auratis ». It is interesting to find Richards using in his first volume the detail of this passage, describing Messalina's visits to the brothel, which later he turned effectively to account in his play. We may perhaps have here the hint which drew his attention to her story.

²⁾ v. 216 f.

³⁾ Cf. *Deaths Masquing Night* (p. 25, and note 3).

⁴⁾ v. 230 ff.

They dare outface Heau'ns Truth, forg'd lies maintaine
To Cloake the cunning Jesuites subtile braine,
He that do's Theefe-like waite for Vertues fall
Liues in perpetuall watch, to blow up all ». ¹⁾

Richards proceeds to denounce particularly Garnett ²⁾ and the Gunpowder Plot, and, mocking the Spanish Jesuits' regard for him, which makes of the « villain » and « traitor » « a martyr'd Saint », to give a burlesque description of his picture, placed at the altar. Then, warming to the attack, he generalises : the Jesuits are « protectors of all villany » ; first, in the state — they are poisoners, plotters, murderers, traitors and fomenters of treason, hypocrites. A few verses may be given as specimen of this headlong torrent of invective : —

« He that dares awe his Country, King and State,
Smile, and yet be a villain ³⁾, all men hate,
Set Princes at debate, befoole the Tymes,
Poyson the world, with irreligious Crymes,
Shed Innocent bloud, all for Religion's sake... » ⁴⁾

Richards next denounces the Jesuits' practices against individuals, charging them with intrigues to gain inheritances, and, above all, with insatiate lust cloaked by their religion. The rest of the piece merely expands this last charge in utterly unrestrained terms, concluding : —

« Their thread of Doctrine [a]mong women spun.
Is to whore all, be she the chaste Nun,
If she denie to yeeld, Murther and Rape,
Shall Wolfe-like seize that prey, there's no escape,
Such is the Murd'ring Minde of him we call,
Natures Monster, Priest Jesuiticall ». ⁵⁾

This satire far exceeds all the others in violence, and there

¹⁾ v. 1 ff.

²⁾ Henry Garnett (1555-1606), appointed Superior of the Jesuits in the province of England in 1587, was executed on May 3, 1606, for complicity in the Gunpowder Plot, after repeated examinations, in all of which he protested that his only knowledge of the plot was under the seal of confession, and that he tried to dissuade the conspirators. Many Roman Catholics regarded him as a martyr. For further particulars, v. *D. N. B.*

³⁾ Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5. 108 : ... « One may smile, and smile, and be a villain ».

⁴⁾ v. 97 ff.

⁵⁾ v. 159 ff.

is a note of personal hatred in its passion of abuse. The long denunciation of Garnett, the only attack on an individual in Richards' satires, is introduced to damn all Jesuits in the person of their English Provincial, by reawakening memories of the Gunpowder Plot.

In *The Divell* (212 vv.) Richards returns, through more general satire, to moral exhortation. The poem describes first how the devil is active everywhere — even in Church : —

« Search all the Earth, you eu'ry where shall see,
Satan most busie, from the Church not free,
The very Pulpit haunts, and being vext,
Seekes how to put the Preacher from his Text :
Such as teach others, yet themselves neglect.
And with sinnes Cassocke hide their owne defect :
From Pew to Pew, unseene ; Hel's Feind do's creepe,
To dull the Hearers Eares, Joggs some a sleepe,
Some to vaine prattle, others still to pric.
With wanton lookes, for a bewitching Eye.
Some greedily employes, to spie out Fashions,
To glut the humours of proud womens passions ». ¹⁾

Man is constantly tempted, and tends to evil ; Richards therefore exhorts the reader to think of the Day of Judgment, of Heaven and Hell. Heaven receives a description in abstract terms, tolerable though conventional : poverty, oppressed chastity, the wrongs of the widow and the fatherless, are redressed there. Hell, on the other hand, is described in concrete terms, feebly imitating the description by the « Ghoast of Andrea » in *The Spanish Tragedie* ²⁾, with borrowings also from

¹⁾ v. 1 ff.

²⁾ « Where bloudie furies shakes their whips of steele,
And poore *Ixion* turnes an endles wheele :
Where vsurers are choakt with melting golde,
And wantons are imbraste with ouglie Snakes,
And murderers grone with neuer killing wounds,
And periurde wightes scalded in boylng lead
And all foule sinnes with torments ouerwhelmd ».

The Spanish Tragedie, I. 1. 65 ff.

Mr Boas notes Kyd's indebtedness in this passage to *Aeneid* VI. 570-1, 601, 608-713, 616-7 ; but there can be no doubt that both Ford and Richards borrowed from Kyd, not from the *Aeneid*.

Ford's development of the same passage ¹⁾ :

“ There, painted Pride lies crown'd in flaming fire
The Glorious Strumpet, whipt with burning wyer ²⁾
Fed, is the Lust-provoking Letcher there
With scorching Coles, such as delight to sweare,
Swallow the Drunkards euer scalding Oyle,
There, Usurers in Pooles of Sulphure boyle,
Murther, Rape, Incest, endlesse torments feele,
The Racke of vengeance, and the burning wheele ». ³⁾

Then follow exhortations to repentance, with tears and prayer. Prayer, says Richards, in one of his best passages, must be coupled with good works : —

“ Many Men pray ; But he the Glory winnes,
Who prayes, to be disburthen'd from his sinnes ;
And views the poor Mans Labour, with the Eye
Of sweete relief ; ther's Noble Charitie :
The heart of such a Man, may sometimes shrinke
Under Temptations weight, but neuer sinke :
God makes him here, Lord Steward of that store,
He dealest so chearefully among the poore ». ⁴⁾

More warnings follow, against sin, especially against the temptations of beauty ; and after a prayer for help, to “ the Eternal Essence », the poem concludes with an exhortation to virtue and faith.

¹⁾

“ There is burning oil
Pour'd down the drunkard's throat ; the usurer
Is forc'd to sup whole draughts of molten gold ;
There is the murderer for ever stabb'd.
Yet can he never die ; there lies the wanton
On racks of burning steel, whiles in his soul
He feels the torment of his raging lust ». ⁵⁾

'Tis Pity she's a Whore, III. 6. 9 ff.

Though Richards has borrowed chiefly from Kyd, it is clear that he was also acquainted with Ford's fine passage. In the latter, the first two lines, and “ racks of burning steel » yield Richards' “ swallow the Drunkards euer scalding Oyle » and “ The Racke of vengeance » — neither phrase suggested in Kyd's passage.

To the best of my knowledge, Ford's debt to Kyd in this passage has never hitherto been pointed out. It is not mentioned in the latest edition of his works : *The Works of John Ford*, ed. by Wm. Gifford, with additions by Rev. Alex. Dyce, now reissued with further additions. London, 1895.

²⁾ whipt with burning wyer : from Kyd's “ whips of Steele » (v. p. 13, note 2) ; cf. *The Queen* (ed. Prof. W. Bang, Materialien XII) I. 2583 “ The fabled whips of Steele ».

³⁾ v. 93 ff.

⁴⁾ v. 145 ff.

The poem, after the opening verses, is « moral » rather than satirical, and the style also returns towards that of *The Celestiall Publican* and *The Spirituall Sea-fight*. There is more simile than in the satires, though less than in the two « sacred » poems just named. The most elaborate simile fills eight verses (45-52), comparing man to a tree, evil in all its parts : the root, evil thoughts, the fruit, sin ; and so on.

The Divell is the last of the « seuen seuerall poems » forming the main substance of the book. Next follow « Acrosticke Epitaphes upon King Iames, Prince Lodowicke, Duke of Richmond, Lord Marques Hamleton, and others ». The verses not named in this title are : Arthur, Lord Chichester, His Epitaph. Anagrams to the Rt. Hon. Robert, Earl of Warwick (Latin and English) ; to the Rt. Hon. Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls ; Verses upon the Principale Coate at Armes, of my Honourable Friend Sir Henry Hart ; An Acrosticke compos'd at the Marriage of my honour'd Friend Sir Thomas Stanly ; Verses upon Sr Thomas Stanly his Lady, her first bееing with Childe ; A Memoriall upon the Death of that True Honorable Valiant Commander, Sr Francis Carew ; an Epitaph upon the Right Honorable Lady, the Lady Francis, Sister to Theophilus Earle of Lincolne ; Upon the Death of Mistris Margaret Brograue ; Upon my worthy Friend Mr Charles Ayte ; Mary Heath [Anagram] ; To My much respected true Friend, Master William Utber ; To His Respected Friend, Mr Valentine Oldis ; To My beloued Friend Mr Francis Hurst.

From this section we may quote *Duke Richmonds Ghost* (as the poem is called in the text which appears as *Prince Lodo-wicke* in the list of contents quoted above), perhaps the best specimen :

« L ife of that Loue, to me on Earth, most Deare.
O cease to grieue, for me let no sad Teare
D rop from thy Fun'rall Eyes ; Death came, I went
O 're ioyd from Earth, to Heau'n's pure Parlaiment.
W hy then sad sweet, which once my heart did burne
I n true Loues Flames, why dost thou sit und mourne ?
C leare Eyes, Looke up, ioy in th' Alitemall Trine,
K eep teares for sinne ; so Turtle liue Diuine.

Saintlike they liue, where Vertue, rules high blood,
T 'is most, most fearefull to be Great, not Good,
U nlocke thy treasure then : Heau'ns steward be ¹⁾
A nd what I left undone, doe thou for me ;
R eward thy Seruants, Good Deeds lead the way
T o make us liue best in the latter day.
So farewell Sweet, Good God from wayes uneuen
Thy Ship of Life steere to the Land of Heauen ».

The last section of this volume opens with *Loues Sonnet* : 10 vv. in which the author declares his love and implores pity ; a very boyish little essay in the sentimental, quite pretty but quite undistinguished. The same may be said of *Sorrows Sonnet* (14 vv.) which tells that he once loved and was beloved ; but friends interfered, and his beloved died, while he cannot die, but must live on in sorrow.

The next poem, *Upon a Glitering Smocke Gallant sitting at a Play* (26 vv.), describes in the first person present the tempest of desire raised by the sight of a very *decolleté* beauty, and prays for help.

Then follow 6 epigrammatic verses : *The difference betwixt Acquaintance and a Friend.*

The volume is completed by a poem (56 vv.) *Upon the unkindnesse of a Friend*, who, on receiving from him a reproof for whoring, drinking, and nourishing court vanities, has left him abruptly.

Poems Divine, Morall and Satyricall (1632, for James Boler, 8vo ; unique copy in the Huth Library) : merely a reissue of a few unsold copies of the original edition described above, with a few unimportant omissions (*D. N. B.*).

The sets of commendatory verses prefixed to Rawlins' *Rebellion* and Middleton's *Women beware Women* are quite undistinguished for the ordinary run of such verses. The second-named set harps on Richards' favourite string : —

« *Women beware Women* : 'tis a true text
Never to be forgot ; drabs of state vext
Have plots, prisons, mischiefs that seldom miss
To murder virtue with a venom-kiss... » etc.

¹⁾ Cf. *The Divell*, v. 151 ; *Messalina* I. 9, note.

Poems Sacred and Satyricall (« Printed at London by T. Paine for H. Blunden at the Castle in Cornehill. 1641 ». Svo. B. M. Library) : Mr Seccombe's ¹⁾ dismissal of this volume as a reprint, with a few additions, of *The Celestiall Publican*, is rather too summary. The additions are considerable ; and the matter taken from *The Celestiall Publican*, which it is true forms the bulk of the volume, is rearranged and occasionally otherwise altered. The title-page gives a list of twenty-two poems ; to which, to complete the contents of the volume, we must add *The Author* (the acrostic previously published at the beginning of *C. P.* ²⁾), slightly altered), the Dedication and six couplets translating Latin epigrams. The Dedication — « To Alderman Thomas Soame Esq., one of the Burgesses of Parliament for the Honorable City of London » — sets forth the author's aims in terms recalling the Epistle Dedicatory to *Messalina* : « the exaltation of Vertue, the detestation of Vice, and like the Seamans Compasse to direct soules from the dangerous Passage indirect ».

A brief account of the individual poems may be given, following the order of the volume.

Prayers Paradice (472 vv.) : After an invocation to God to guide his pen, the poet states the necessity of prayer ; first (v. 17 ff.) for the King and Parliament, that the nation may live at peace. The horrors of war are painted, from which England has been spared (a passage on which the events beginning in the year following its publication form for the modern reader an ironical comment). The power of prayer is exalted, and exemplified in the lives of Elijah, Moses and Aaron. As the skill of the Pilot is first shown in the storm, so the Christian is first proved in his prayers. The following passage, like the opening verses of *The Divell*, shows the indignation of the son of the parsonage, himself a budding parson, against some church-goers' habits. It still reads very freshly :

¹⁾ *D. N. B.*, article Nathanael Richards.

²⁾ As frequent reference must be made to *The Celestiall Publican*, the abbreviation *C. P.* will be used henceforward.

¶ Soules that will mount, gaine a Celestiall Crow ne,
Must pray with ardency, looke up, not downe.
Like times too many mumblers that doe fall
To pray, on the halfe kneec, or none at all,
Nor desperately like such, as thinke no sinne
To come to Church, till Sermon time beginne ;
Entering (O most abhor'd) so sneakingly
So rude in rev'tence, pray so peakingly,
As doth amaze religious fortitude *. ¹⁾

Incidentally condemning sects and schisms, Richards contrasts the absence of fervour in prayer to God, during which the mind wanders to profane things, with the ardour of supplication to an earthly king. Hence it is that prayer fails, from its lack of fervour ²⁾). The power of God is exalted, and the helplessness of man shown its only refuge in prayer. Next, a dozen verses from *C. P.* are worked in, praising God's mercy : vv. 319-20 repeat, with slight alterations, *C. P.* 55-6 ; vv. 321-30 slightly modify *C. P.* 55-64.

The exhortation of prayer then continues, in a variety of metaphors and similes : the Christian must be a sentinel, a soldier against the hosts of sin ; the soul is an actor, in the theatre of Time, to the audience of the Trinity ; or again, a Musketeer. One passage hints the explanation of the title of the *C. P.*

¶ Act to the life the *Publicans* true part,
Knocke, and knocke hard : make Vertues hammer felt
On thy hearts flinty Anvile... * ³⁾)

This poem, which is much the most important new one of the volume, very closely resembles the exhortatory parts of the sacred poems in the 1630 volume, in which most of its thoughts — commonplaces of religious verse — had already been expressed. Richards' love of simile and metaphor again shows itself.

The World repeats the original version (v. s.) with very trifling changes, omitting two lines and adding four.

* v. 123 ff.

¹⁾ Cf. *Hamlet* III, iii, 67 f. :

My words fly up, my thoughts remain below :
Words without thoughts never to heaven go *.

Cf. note on *Messalina*, II, 521.

²⁾ v. 47 ff.

The Flesh repeats the original version, with a few changes in the direction of less drastic expression. Verses 1, 2, 25-6, 67-92 of the original version are omitted; and new verses are added, viz. 23-6, 67-86.

The Jesuite is repeated unaltered.

The Devill is shortened, from the 212 verses of the original *Dowell*, to 124 verses. Vv. 1-118 repeat the original, except for the omission of two verses (115-6) and the addition of two new verses (53-4). The revised version then omits the rest, up to the last six lines of the original, which form the conclusion here also. Some of the passages of the original version, here omitted, are used in other poems in this volume, especially in *The Penitent Sinner* (v. i. p. 20 f.).

Mans Miserie (82 vv.): the title suggests the subject of the poem — the lamentable dangers to the soul in this world of sin. It opens by comparing man's life to a watch, going correctly when he is good, out of order when he is bad. This simile gives place, at v. 35, to the metaphor « Man is an Actor, and the World the Stage » — four verses already published in *Messalina*, but probably originally written here ¹⁾, and in this case dating the poem not later than 1639.

Verses 39-44 repeat *The Devill* vv. 20-34, already printed in this same volume; and vv. 45-8 repeat *The Flesh* vv. 43-6, also already given a few pages earlier. The obvious inference from these repetitions is that the volume was not carefully revised for the press ²⁾.

Richards had presumably revised and rearranged and added to his poems, at intervals, between 1632 and 1641; and transferred these passages to his new poem without cancelling them in their original settings.

After these hashed passages on the snares of the devil and the weakness of the flesh, the rest of the poem is filled with

¹⁾ Cf. *Messalina* V. 321, note.

²⁾ This is corroborated by, and in turn corroborates, the similar probability in the case of *Messalina*; v. notes on I. 49, II. 251; and Introduction, p. 50. Cf. also *The Soules Seafight*, p. 21.

exhortations to the reader to recognise his own faults, and not to ignore them while denouncing the faults of others.

Sinnes Infirmicie (34 vv.) again sets forth man's sinfulness, and his misery until he makes peace with God through penitence, in tears.

Sinnes Impudence (142 vv.) is a moral satire. Denouncing the brazenness with which sin flaunts itself, Richards likens the soul to a besieged city. Then, with that emphasis on good works already noted in *The Divell* and *Duke Richmonds Ghost*, and to be noted again in *Charitie* (v. p. 24), he satirises the «worldly churl» who, though he goes to church and talks religiously, will yet do no charity ; and he then proceeds

« Sinne for a while may with a Brasen face
Outbrave poore Vertue, flourish for a space,
Feede hot, and high, switne in the worlds delight
As if Vice only, were heav'ns Favorite.
Be fat in folly, curious scoffes, that dare
Mocke at the wrinckled lookes of honest care,
Scorne leane Ribb'd Art, all grieves which interlace
The Lines of sorrow writ in Vertues face.
Sinne may doe this ; rais'd on the loftie stile,
Of Prides preferment for a little while.
But if time lend thee yeares for to observe
You soone shall see proud sinne, ready to sterue
Blushing for shame, and halting on a crutch
Spotted all o're with Biles : loathsome to touch ». ¹⁾

The satire next turns against regard for fine clothes, and then returns to niggardliness in charity ; concluding with an exhortation against these sins, which reerucify Christ.

This poem is written in a direct style, in keeping with its satirical character, figurative elements being used only sparingly.

The Penitent Sinner (288 vv.) is a shortened and rearranged version of *C. P.* (464 vv.), with short interpolations from *The Divell*, and a few unimportant new verses and changes in phrase. All the passages of *C. P.* which celebrate Christ, and the device-poems (Pyramid of Grace, Adamant of Glory, etc.),

¹⁾ v. 65 ff.

are omitted here¹⁾). The slight changes in the matter retained tend, as in *The Flesh*, towards less drastic phrasing : e. g. « Woman's naked paps »²⁾ is changed to « Beauties Bravery »³⁾. The rearrangement has very little effect — evidence of the absence of organic quality in the original poem. Analysis of the first hundred lines of the new version will show its relation to the original :

Penitent Sinner : vv. 1-10 repeat *C. P.* 13-22

11-12	»	»	25-6
13-26	»	<i>Divell</i> (1 st Version) 181-194	
27-38	»	<i>C. P.</i> 275-286	
39-46	»	»	75-82
47-66	»	»	289-308
67	repeats	»	309 (altered)
68-70	are new.		
71-8	repeat	<i>Divell</i> (1 st Version) 195-202	
79-86	»	<i>C. P.</i> 245-252	
87-94	»	»	27-34
95-6	»	»	163-4
97-8	»	»	459-460
99-102	»	»	141-4

The Soules Seafight (214 vv.) is a revised version of *The Spirituall Seafight*; with 20 vv. of the original version omitted (vv. 137-152, 201-4), 26 vv. added (vv. 59-66 are new, expanding the comparison of the soul to a ship in battle; vv. 193-210 repeat the last 18 vv. of *The Flesh*, given already in this volume)⁴⁾; and a few phrasal changes, again in the direction of moderation (e.g. « lazie lap of sin » for the original « strumpet lap of sin »).

The Virgins Honour (62 vv.) : A virgin's prayer, first for help to keep free from all unchaste thoughts and acts ; next, to obey her parents, for whom she also prays ; and lastly

¹⁾ Often to be used elsewhere in this volume : v. s., *Prayers Paradise*; v. i., *Mercies Miracle*, *Faith*, *Vertues Pyramid*

²⁾ *C. P.* v. 167.

³⁾ *Penitent Sinner* v. 107.

⁴⁾ Like the other repetitions noted above, this gives evidence that the volume was not revised for the press. Cf. remarks above on *Mans Miseric.* (p. 19).

«... if thy will e're call me to the state
Of honorable wedlocke; let my Mate
Be such a one (good God) with whom I may
Serve thee in peace: and never goe astray ». ¹⁾

It is quite pretty, but not noteworthy for any poetic quality. Interesting, however, is the resemblance between the lines just quoted and a passage in T. Heywood's translation of the dialogue of Erasmus *Proci et Puellæ*:

«*Mar.* And yet pure chastitie's a thing (they say)
To God most grateful.
Pam. And I therefore pray,
Hee'l send me a chaste Virgin to my wife
With whom to lead a chaste vnquestion'd life ²⁾ ».

The resemblance may be purely accidental, for the thought is commonplace enough; but the probability that Richards borrowed the hint, and from Heywood rather than direct from Erasmus ³⁾ is increased by the resemblance of the next poem to another in Heywood's volume. The latter bears the date 1637, which would give the very plausible date 1637-40 for this poem and the next.

The Single and Married Life (70 vv.) dismisses the first part of its subject in 16 verses, depreciating the single life with its temptations to lust, and exalting the joy and virtue of happy marriage. The rest of the poem contrasts happy with unhappy marriage, and declares the need for solemn consideration in choosing a mate.

«The Married life, I fitly may compare
To Heav'n or Hell, unto the Earth, or Ayre,
'Tis Heav'n where harmelesse Turtle Mates agree,
But Dismall Hell where Couples faithlesse be,
Sweet like the dainty wholesome Ayre to sense,
Where Man and Wife content, shunne rude offence,
But where deepe discorde rules, and proud disdaine,
There, like the gaping Tongue-tide Earth for Raine
Sun-burnt with sordid Actions, deeds unjust
They partch to Cinders, fall away to dust ». ⁴⁾

— —

¹⁾ v. 50 ff.

²⁾ Tho. Heywood, *Pleasant Dialogues and Dramma's* (ed. W. Bang, *Materianen Bd. III*, 1663) : *Procius and Puella*, II. 1263 ff.

³⁾ « M. Attamen aiunt, rem Deo gratissimam esse castitatem. Pa. Et ideo castam puellan mihi cupio nubere, ut cum illa caste vivam ». *Proci et Puella* II. 266 ff., reprinted by Prof. Bang, *loc. cit.* p. 320.

⁴⁾ v. 43 ff.

Here again an interesting parallel occurs in Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues*, in *Anna and Phillis*, a translation through an intermediate Latin text of Vader Cats' *Maegden-Plicht ofte Amt der Jonck-vrouwen*, Middelburgh 1618. After discussing the relative merits of virginity and wedlock, Heywood's dialogue lays down maxims for husband and wife¹⁾. The resemblance is however not close enough for any connection to be definitely inferred, though as remarked above in our note on *The Virgins Prayer*, there is nothing improbable in the supposition.

Teares Triumph : 80 vv., exalting the virtue of repentant tears, which gain pardon for sin. An unimportant poem, marked by numerous scriptural allusions.

Mercies Miracle (118 vv.) opens with the "Adamant of Glory" from *C. P.* (vv. 363-372), then continues to exalt the glory and mercy of God in contrast with the sinfulness and mercilessness of man. The poet recalls the advent and the sufferings of Christ, and marvels that men can ever forget such mercy. Six lines from *The Divell* (original version vv. 131-6) conclude the poem.

Vv. 21-2, already published in *Messalina* (V. 316-7) were probably written first in this setting²⁾; and the poem is thus dated as not later than 1639.

Faith (48 vv.) opens with a device poem, in form dimly suggesting a lamp. The sixteen verses composing it are patched together from *C. P.* : —

<i>Faith</i> : vv. 1-2	repeat	<i>C. P.</i> vv. 420-30
3-4	"	" 423-4
5-6	"	" 393-4
7-8	"	" 431-2
9-12	"	" 383-0
13-16	"	" 411-414

The remaining 32 vv. of the poem are new. They exalt faith, giving scriptural examples.

Hope : 42 vv. in praise of Hope, the first 18 being printed in the form of an anchor.

¹⁾ Ll. 7764 ff. in Prof. Bang's edition, cited above. For the original cf. *ib.* pp. 338 ff.

²⁾ Cf. note on *Messalina* v. 321.

Charitie (148 vv.) : the opening 14 vv., printed in the form of a heart, exhort to alms-giving, and declare that works alone show Christian faith. The rest of the poem continues to praise charity, with scriptural examples, and to condemn the over-eager pursuit of wealth.

Verses 39-60 repeat *The Divell* (original version) 137-158. It is interesting to note that « Charitie » (by which the poet chiefly understands alms-giving) receives much lengthier treatment than Faith or Hope : again Richards shows his special concern, already noted, for good works (cf. remarks above on *The Divell*, *Duke Richmonds Ghost*, and *Sinnes Impudence*).

Vertues Pyramid exactly reproduces the *Pyramid of Paradice* of C. P.

Chastitie and Lust (50 vv.) contrasts the beauty of chastity, and its happiness despite perpetual struggle, with the hideousness and the terrors of lust.

Midnights Meditation (80 vv.) again sounds very familiar notes in its reflections on the beauty of goodness, the folly of sin, the vanity of worldly possessions, and God's great mercy in withholding punishment.

The Divine Dream (36 vv.) : The poet describes a dream, in which he saw the scroll of truth wavering in the sky. At last, shining like the sun, it stood still —

« In which me thought I read, and read it ore
Peccair no majs ; that is, sinne no more
Written in Spanish... »

The novel element in the poem is exhausted here — with the poet's Spanish ; and the rest of it consists of the dreamer's prayers for help, that he may indeed sin no more.

The Divine Echo betweene the good Angell, Man in despaire,
And the Devill (86 verses, plus 23 « echoes » of one, two or three syllables) : a trick piece. Man speaks, and the angel or the devil answers him by echoing his last word or words : e. g. —

*Man. Death to my Soule, how long must I in vaine
Heav'ns comforit crave ? yet endlessly remaine¹⁾)
Fetter'd in sinne : breake Heart, give death free scope*

¹⁾ Text wrongly inserts . after « remaine ».

And must I then despair? is there no hope?
Angell. Hope.

Man. Amend I cannot, guifts of Grace I lacke
Like him that weares Heav'ns Livery ou his backe
Hells favour in his bosom; wretched I
Will Fate afford no present remedie!
Devill. Die¹⁾.

Man despairs because he is so sinful. This Angel tells him to hope, but the Devil deepens his despair; the Angel having 3 out of the first 5 «echoes», then remaining silent while the Devil speaks in the next 11. The Devil at last incites the Man to commit suicide; but the Angel again intervenes, and in 7 «echoes» (uninterrupted by the Devil), restores him to hope, telling him to «Endeavour» and «Obey».

The echo form of poem had of course long been familiar²⁾. Richards' essay in it shows his power of fluent and ingenious versification.

Deaths Masqueing Night (102 vv.) deals with the vanity of worldly things, which all end with death: —

« With solemne Pace unseene, Death dos advance
His Sable shaft, to lead the World a dance.
Through Courts, th[r]ough Armyes, the worlds wide Hall,
Controul'd of none, Death is the end of all.

Wher's then? the mighty Madam's stareing Pride?
Oyles, Powders, Paintings? All are laid aside.
Gold glittiring Glory, Cloath of Silver silke,
Forgetfull Feasts, *their sinfull Baths of Milke*
(*When many a poore soule sterves, wanting the food*
*Of their superfluous out-side*³⁾ pamper'd blood

¹⁾ Vv. 1-5, 11-15.

²⁾ Cf. e. g. Sidney's *Philisides and Echo*, in the *Arcadia*. Complete Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, ed. Grosart. 3 vols. 1877 : Vol. II, p. 221 ff.

³⁾ Suggested by Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*. Act III. Dodsley-Hazlitt. X, p. 61, l. 2 ff.) : —

« Does every proud and selfaffecting dame
Camphire her face for this, and grieve her Maker
In sinful baths of milk, when many an infant sterves
For her superfluous outside — all for this? »

Tourneur's scene, in which Vendice is apostrophizing «the skull of his love», is obviously suggested by Hamlet V. i.; and Richards also may have taken some of his touches from Shakespeare. Cf. especially Hamlet V. i. 212 ff. : « Now get you to my lady's chamber, and tell her, let her paint an inch thick, to this favour she must come ». About the effect of this Shakespearean scene on other dramatists. cf. Koeppel. *Studien über Shakespeares Einfluss auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, pp. 4-49.

Curles, Purles, Perfumes, Court complements, visites,
Hot-stirring Dishes, soule bewitching Minuts.
All Pompe on Earth, ambitions mad desires,
Revells and Lust-burnt Midnights unchast fires.
All are busht then : Beggers and Kings, all must
Take a poore lodging in a bed of dust ¹⁾.¹⁾

These verses recall *The Vicious Courtier*. Verses 46-54, on the uncertainty of life, repeat *The Spirituall Seafight* vv. 139-141, 144-9 (omitted in the version in this volume, *The Soules Seafight*) ; and vv. 91-8 repeat, with alteration of the first verse, C. P. vv. 337-344. The poem repeats the familiar warning ²⁾ that death comes inevitably to all, and after it Heaven or Hell ; and exhorts the reader to remember this and to avoid sin. Matter and style fall entirely into line with those of the other sacred poems.

Here end the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall*. In the same volume follow *Latine Verses | Englished by this | Author as they erected in ³⁾ | the Hangings in the Upper | House of Parliament* : seven epigrammatic couplets, translating Latin hexameters, on Pride, Lust, Gluttony, Wrath, Envy, Covetousnesse, Sloth.

Only two poems, each published as a single sheet, remain to be noticed.

*Truth's | Acrostick | an | Elegie | upon | The most renowned,
true, and unparalleled Worthy Knight, | Sir Paul Pindar Deceased.* (No publisher named. Copy in B. M. Library, among *Single Papers. Nov. 27th 1649 — Feb. 29th 1650*). This acrostic (19 vv.) is in no way distinguished from those printed at the end of the 1632 volume. The initial letters of the verses form « Sir Paul Pindar Knight ».

Upon the | Declaration | of His Majesty | King Charles | Of England the Second. (« London, Printed for J. G. 1660. May 18 »). Copy in B. M. Library, among *Single Papers Apr. 28th — Sept. 5th 1660*. The poem is surmounted by the Royal arms, and enclosed by two ornamental pillars. A panegyric upon the

¹⁾ vv. 5-8 ; 25 ff. For the final couplet, cf. the Song in *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 258 ff.

²⁾ Cf. remarks above on *The Divell*, p. 15.

³⁾ « erected » obviously needs emendation. I suspect that the printer misread the MS. title, which probably ran « are c[on]fited ».

King's goodness in forgiving his enemies. The first six verses may serve as specimen :

“ Bless Mighty God great Britains second King
Charles : shield him Divinity from the Sting
Of black mouth'd Murth'ring Malice, make him Live
The worlds true Mirrour, that do's now forgive
Freely foul Facts ; foul Faults, which make all those
Enemies Friends, that were his greatest Foes ”.

The general characteristics of Richards' non-dramatic poetry emerge distinctly from what has been said of the individual poems. In matter, it exhibits a strong moral tendency, developing on the one hand, in the sacred poems, into religious exhortation, on the other into satire, directed above all against the sins of the flesh. The poet never rises above the conventional, however, and the limits of his stock of ideas are reflected in his language, making the poetry, taken as a whole, monotonous alike in thought and diction. The style of the poems is characterised especially by profusion of simile and metaphor ; in which Richards shows ingenuity, still within the limits of convention. The verse is on the whole fluent and workmanlike ; but in form, as in thought, Richards fails to show any development. The new verses of the 1641 volume are indistinguishable, in stuff and style, from those published eleven years earlier.

§ 3. THE TRAGEDY OF MESSALLINA, THE ROMAN EMPERESSE.

1. *Texts.* Two copies both dated 1640, small 8vo.¹⁾, are extant in the B. M. Library; press-marks respectively 643. a. 37 (hereafter cited as **A**) and 162. b. 15 (hereafter cited as **B**). The differences between them are very slight :

B has an engraved portrait of Richards, as frontispiece ; **A** has not.

Act II. v. 76²⁾ **A** reads (correctly) “ what ho ”

B ” “ what he ”

¹⁾ Baker (*Biographia Dramatica*, Vol. I, Article Nathanael Richard [sic]) erroneously says 12 mo and Maas, *Äussere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen*, p. 145, makes the same mistake. It is excusable, for the volumes have been cut down in binding. Cf. note on titlepage 2.

²⁾ The references to *Messalina* are given throughout by Act and line. Richards does not mark the division of the Acts into scenes ; and further, the line as printed, and not the verse (in many cases consisting of two lines) must be the basis of reference, since the verse arrangement needs frequent correction, and cannot always even then be fixed quite certainly (Cf. p. 58 ff.).

- v. 295 **A** » (correctly) « kin »
B » « kine »
- v. 426 **A** » « Parthenope
B » « Parthenop ¹⁾)
- III. v. 325 **A** punctuates (correctly),
B » ;
- 337 **A** wrongly repeats « 'gainst » (« 'gainst all ill
'gainst »)
B reads correctly (« 'gainst all ill »)
- 349 **A** reads « with Caius which Silius
quaint vallainie »
B » (correctly) « with Caius Silius which
quaint vallainie »
- V. 148 **A** reads « Hem's hem'd »
B » « Zownes Hem's hem'd
- Here **A** gives the better reading (v. note ad loc.)

Further, two slight differences occur which do not affect the text :

Following II. 81, for the catchword (« She ») for the next page,
A has S (other letters blurred) **B**

V. 149, the speaker's initials (*St.* = *Stitch*) are printed
in **A** (correctly) in italics ;
in **B** in Roman type.

Finally, there are a few slight accidental differences : several words are quite clear in **A** which are blurred and scarcely legible in **B** (« desire », I. 284; « O » II. 361; « mawde » IV. 293); and **A** also preserves in several cases words or letters which in **B** have been cut away in binding (cf. note on title-page 2).

All the text-differences may be referred to corrections made during printing. It will be noticed that sometimes one text, sometimes the other, gives the corrected reading. This cannot be more clearly explained than in the words of Mr R. B. McKerrow, who treats the question in detail in the introduction to his reprint of *The Devil's Charter* ²⁾ : — « We have to fall back on

¹⁾ « Parthenop » is the better reading here, since the metre requires a tri-syllabic word.

²⁾ *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*, Bd. VI. Louvain, 1904 (p. xiv f.).

the theory that corrections were made during the actual process of printing off, that the author, in some cases at least, exercised a certain amount of control over the actual progress of the work, dropping in upon the printer perhaps once or twice a day, looking over the sheets as they came fresh from the press and having such errors as he noticed corrected ».

In the case of *Messalina*, it seems pretty certain that the author exercised no such control (v. i., p. 58 f.), but we may suppose that the publisher, or perhaps the printer himself, looked through the sheets from time to time as Mr McKerrow suggests. Further « It cannot be supposed that in gathering the sheets of a book a binder would as a general rule pay attention to whether they were more or less corrected. He would take them, good or bad, as they came to hand ».

Thus, in *Messalina*, the more corrected sheets have been bound up in **A** in the case of ¹⁾ II. 76, 295, III. 325, V. 148; in **B** in the case of II. 426, III. 337, 349. (The accidental differences ²⁾, not affecting the text, need not detain us).

Our reprint reproduces text **B**, which on the above evidence is, though very slightly, the better. The variant readings are given in running notes at the foot of the page.

2. *Date of production.* *Messalina*, says the title-page, was acted by the « Company of his Majesties Revels » ³⁾. An amalgamation between the King's Revels Company and four members of the Queen's Servants took place in 1637, the company thus formed retaining the name « Queen's Servants » ⁴⁾. There is no proof

¹⁾ There is no connection between the cases — no two occur on pages folded from the same sheet. We therefore need not introduce the complications of the binders' pagination, but can name the page simply by the line in question.

²⁾ v. s. p. 28.

³⁾ Referred to by Mr Fleay (*cf. cit.*) as the King's Revels Company: henceforth, for brevity, referred to as the K. R. Company.

⁴⁾ The theatres were closed, owing to the plague, on May 12th 1636. They reopened on Oct. 2nd 1637: and under this date, Herbert, the Master of the Revels, writes « I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock and Turner to Salisbury Court, and joined them with the best of that company ». (Fleay, *Chron. Hist. of London Stage*, p. 300). Before the closing of the theatres the players named had been members of the Queen's Servants, and Salisbury Court the theatre of the K. R. Company. (Fleay, *loc. cit.*; also p. 329 f.)

that the K. R. Company continued to exist after this date, but the following facts make it appear probable.

T. Rawlins' tragedy *The Rebellion* (published 1639) was played by the K. R. Company. Its date of production is uncertain ; but if we accept the date suggested (though with a query) by the *D. N. B.* for Rawlins' birth (1620), a date after Oct. 1637 seems more probable for the play than one before the closing of the theatres in 1636.

Mr Fleay, who inclines to the later date for *The Rebellion*, argues further « Frere published *Messalina*, Rawlins' *Rebellion* and Nabbes' *Unfortunate Mother* (not acted) all in this year [1639]. The inference is that the King's Revels Company dissolved at Michaelmas 1639 »¹⁾.

This is too definite. The reference to Nabbes' *Unfortunate Mother* proves nothing, since the play was written, not for the K. R. Company, but for Beeston's Boys²⁾. The publication of the two other plays at about the same time proves very little ; no more than that their value as stage novelties was gone. It is on the whole probable that, had they been played before the closing of the theatres, and had the company to which they belonged ceased to exist in 1637, they would have reached the press earlier than the autumn of 1639 ; but very little weight can be attached to this evidence.

Very much more important is the inclusion in the cast for *Messalina* of Christopher Goad, previously a member of the Queen's Servants. Here again no final proof can be given ; but the evidence tends strongly to show that Goad remained with the Queen's Servants until 1636, and joined the K. R. Company at the time of the rearrangement in 1637³⁾.

All the evidence, though none of it is conclusive, tends in the same direction ; and we therefore agree with Mr Fleay that *Messalina* probably dates after the reopening of the theatres, Oct. 2nd 1637. The final limit is given by its entry on the Stationers' Register, on Oct. 3rd 1639.

3. *Place of production.* It might be urged, against the supposition

¹⁾ *Biog. Chron. of Eng. Drama*, II, p. 110.

²⁾ *ibid.* II, p. 121.

³⁾ For details v. notes (*The Actors Names : Christopher Goad*).

that the K. R. Company continued to exist after 1637, that apparently there was no theatre open to them. Salisbury Court, the theatre where the K. R. Company in its earlier form had played, was occupied by the reconstituted Queen's Company; while the Cockpit, where the latter had played, was kept by Beeston for his newly-formed Boys' Company¹⁾.

At this time, however, a new company appears at the Fortune theatre, mentioned by Herbert simply as « the Fortune Company »²⁾. Mr Fleay names them « the Outsiders », and identifies them with the earlier Red Bull Company³⁾. For this identification I can find no evidence; and I think it probable that « the Fortune company » is no other than our K. R. Company, which may possibly have included, in addition to the remnants of the old K. R. and Queen's Companies, some members of the old Red Bull company. The theatres had been closed for seventeen months, and it is very probable that during this time the companies lost a few members. Hence, perhaps, the reorganisation of the Queen's Company, to bring it again to full strength. The unprivileged company at the Red Bull, never especially successful⁴⁾, would probably suffer particularly; any members who could find other occupation would do so. It is at least more plausible to suppose the cessation of the independent existence of the Red Bull company than that of the much better established K. R. company.

Only four Revels men would be thrown out by the rearrangement at Salisbury Court. Of the old Queen's Servants, outside the four « disposed to Salisbury Court »⁵⁾, Hugh Clark joined the King's Company⁶⁾. Probably some of the other old Queen's Servants — certainly Christopher Goad — joined the

¹⁾ Fleay, *Chron. Hist.*, p. 359 f. Mr Fleay notes further that Beeston's Boys were also known as the « King's and Queen's » players.

Mr Fleay withdraws the suggestion made here (p. 360) — that the K. R. Company broke soon after 1636, May 10 — in his *Bieg. Chron.* II, p. 106.

²⁾ Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* p. 361 (Herbert's entry for 1640, Apr. 12). Cf. *ib.* p. 356.

³⁾ *Chron. Hist.* p. 353 f. It should be noted that in these remarks Mr Fleay is assuming the cessation of the K. R. Company about 1636 (v. s. note 1). With his withdrawal of that assumption, these suggestions also lose weight. Maas, *Aussere Geschichte der Englischen Theaterbühnen*, adds nothing here to Fleay's suggestions.

⁴⁾ Cf. Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* pp. 313, 322, 332; Maas, *cf. cit.* p. 141.

⁵⁾ v. p. 29 note 4.

⁶⁾ Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* pp. 353, 371.

four old K. R. men, possibly with the inclusion of a remnant of the old Red Bull company also ; and the new company thus built up, keeping the established name of the K. R. company, took over the Fortune Theatre.

The fact that Herbert refers (Apr. 12th 1640) to the players at the Fortune theatre simply as « the Fortune company » affords no evidence against our suggestion ; for in 1635 and 1635-6, when no doubt exists as to the right of the K. R. company to their title, they are mentioned in the records of Court performances simply as « the Salisbury Court players » ¹⁾, and again in Herbert's Diary Feb. 16th 1634-5) as « the players in Salisbury Court » ²⁾. It was, indeed, by no means uncommon to name a company by its theatre, as an alternative to its patron-name ³⁾.

Poverty of evidence, especially of lists of actors ⁴⁾, makes it impossible to test these theories about the history of the K. R. Company, so they are advanced with all diffidence. The main point is however clear. We find here no evidence conflicting with the date suggested for *Messalina* in the previous section ; the possible objection that no theatre was open to the K. R. Company after 1637 does not hold. It appears probable that they occupied the Fortune Theatre ; and thus the stage depicted on the title-page of our play may be that of the Fortune Theatre.

4. Sources. (a) *Latin*. Richards professes the sources of his tragedy in the Epistle Dedicatory : « *Imperatricis libido periculosisima est*, witnesse Valeria Messalina, her Lust and Rule over doating Majestie. This testified by Romes Historians (Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, Plutarch and Juvenall) »... ⁵⁾.

Again in the Prologue he declares

« the play is new,
And by Romes fam'd Historians confirm'd true ».

A passage from Juvenal's tenth Satire stands as motto on the

¹⁾ Fleay, *Chron. Hist.* p. 317.

²⁾ Maas, *op. cit.* p. 144.

³⁾ Cf. Maas, *op. cit.* 131 ff. *passim*.

⁴⁾ Maas (*op. cit.* pp. vi, x) promises a list of actors, to appear in the second volume of his work. Possibly this may afford further evidence on our problem.

⁵⁾ v. i., reprint of text, etc.

title-page. Further, Richards gives, in footnotes, copious quotations from his authorities¹⁾: thirteen from Tacitus, one from Pliny and one from Suetonius. His quotations naturally do not indicate the full extent of his debt, and we shall therefore quote in full the passages in Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny and Juvenal most important for the study of Richards' treatment, printing in italics the parts quoted by Richards²⁾.

Tacitus. The chief source of the play is the account of the connection between Messalina and Silius given by Tacitus, *Annales*, Lib. XI.

Cap. 12... [Messalina] novo et furori proximo amore distinebatur. nam in C. Silium, iuventutis Romanae pulcherrimum, ita exarsit, ut lunam Silviam, nobilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret vacuoque adultero poteretur³⁾. neque Silius flagitiis aut periculi nesciuī erat : sed certo, si abnueret, exilio et non iusta tollendū spe, simul magnis fraemiis, offeriri futura et frascutibus frui pro solacio habebat⁴⁾. illa non furtim, sed multo comitatu ventitare domum, egressibus adhaerescere, largiri opes, honores, postremo, velut translata iam fortuna, servi liberti paratus principis apud adulterum visebantur.

Cap. 26. Iam Messalina facilitate adulteriorum in fastidium versa ad incognitas libidines profluebat, cum abrumpi dissimulationem etiam Silius, sive fatali vaecordia an imminentium periculorum remedium ipsa pericula ratus, urguebat : quippe non eo ventum, ut senectam principis opparentur. insontibus innoxia consilia, flagitiis manifestis subsidium ab audacia petendum. adesse conscientes paria metuentes. se caelibem, orbum, nuptiis

¹⁾ Richards' purpose in quoting so extensively was probably to disarm the criticism that the play was immoral, by proving its fidelity to historical authority. The Epistle Dedicatory, as noted, joins this justification with the plea of his moral intention. The phrasing of the Epistle, and also of Jordan's commendatory verses, rather suggests that the play on the stage had not escaped censure of its subject.

Dr. A. W. Ward says "...the author... is pedantic enough to introduce a long quotation from [Juvenal's] Sixth Satire in the original Latin" (*History of Eng. Dram. Lit.* III. p. 162). This is a mistake.

²⁾ Richard's quotations occur as follows :

Tacitus : Footnotes on I. 373; II. 183, 236, 480;
III. 238; IV. 6, 135, 140;
V. 69, 94, 431, 518, 533.

Suetonius : Footnote on IV. 19.

Pliny : » » I. 98.

Juvenal : Motto on titlepage.

For changes and misprints, v. notes ad loc. For editions used in our quotations v. index of works consulted.

³⁾ Quoted as footnote on II. 183.

⁴⁾ Quoted as footnote on II. 480.

et adoptando Britannico paratum, mansuram eandem Messalinae potentiam, addita securitate, si praevenirent Claudium, ut insidiis incautum, ita irae properum, segniter eae voces acceptae, non amore in maritum, sed ne Silius summa adeptus sperneret adulteram scelusque inter aincipitia probatum veris mox pretiis aestimaret, *nomen tamen matrimonii concupivit ob magnitudinem infamiae, cuius apud prodigos novissima voluptas est*¹⁾, nec ultra exspectato quam dum sacrificii gratia Claudius Ostiam proficisceretur, cuncta nuptiarum sollemnia celebrat.

Cap. 27. Haud sum ignarus fabulosum visum iri tantum ullis mortalium securitatis fuisse in civitate omnium gnara et nihil reticente, nedum consulem designatum cum uxore principis, praedicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa convenisse, atque illam audisse auspicum verba, subisse, sacrificasse apud deos: discubitus inter convivas, oscula complexus, noctem denique actam licentia coniugali, sed *nihil compositionem miraculi causa*²⁾, verum audita scriptaque senioribus tradam.

Cap. 28. Igitur domus principis inhorruerat, maximeque quos penes potentia et, si res verterentur, formido, non iam secretis colloquiis, sed aperte tremere, dum histrio cubiculum principis insultaverit, dedecus quidem inflatum, sed excidium procul afuisse: nunc iuvenem nobilem dignitate formae vi mentis ac propinquo consulatu maiorem ad spem adcingi; nec enim occultum, quid post tale matrimonium superesset, *subibat sine dubio metus repulantes hebetem Claudium et uxori devinctum*³⁾ *multasque mortes iussu Messalinae patratis*⁴⁾: rursus ipsa facilitas imperatoris fiduciam dabat, si atrocitate criminis praevaluissent, posse opprimi dannatam ante quam ream; sed in eo discrimen verti, si defensio audiretur, utque clausae aures etiam confitentib[us] forent.

Cap. 29. Ac primo Callistus.... et... Narcissus flagrantissimaque eo in tempore gratia Pallas agitavere, *num Messalinam secretis minis depellent amore Silii, cuncta alia dissimulantes, dein metu, ne ad perniciem ultro traherentur, desistunt*⁵⁾, Pallas per ignaviam, Callistus prioris quoque regiae peritus et potentiam cautis quam acribus consiliis tutius haberi: persistit Narcissus, set solum id immutans, ne quo sermone praeesciam criminis et accusatoris faceret: ipse ad occasiones intentus, longa apud Ostiam Caesaris mora, duas paellices, quarum is corpori maxime insueverat, largitione ac promissis et uxore deiecta plus potentiae ostentando perpulit delationem subire.

Cap. 30. Exin Calpurnia (id paelici nomen), ubi datum secretum, genibus Caesaris provoluta nupsisse Messalinam Silio exclamat; simul Cleopatram, quae id opperiens adstabat, an comperisset interrogat, atque illa adnrente cieri Narcissum postulat, is veniam in practeritum petens, quod ei Vettios, Plautios dissimulavisset, sed nunc adulteria obiectum ait, nedum domum servitia et ceteros fortunae paratus reposceret, frueretur immo his, set redderet uxorem rumporetque tabulas nuptiales. « an discidium » inquit « tuum nosti? nam matrimonium Silii vidit populus et senatus et miles; ac ni propere agis, tenet urbem mautus ».
— — —

¹⁾ Quoted as footnote on II, 236.

²⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV, 6.

³⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV, 135.

⁴⁾ Quoted as footnote on V, 66.

⁵⁾ Quoted as footnote on IV, 146.

Cap. 31. Tum potissimum [quemque] amicorum vocat, primumque rei frumentariae praefectum Turram, post Lusum Getam praetorianis inpositum percontatur, quis fatentibus certatim ceteri circumstrepunt; iret in castra, firmaret praetorias cohortes, securitati ante quam vindictae consuleret, satis constat eo pavore offusum Claudium, ut identidem interrogaret, an ipse imperii potens, an Silius privatus esset, at Messalina non alias solutior luxu, adulto autumno simulacrum vindemiae per domum celebrabat, urgueri prela, fluere lacus; et feminae pellibus accinctae adsultabant ut sacrificantes vel insanientes Bacchae; ipsa crine fluxo thyrum quatiens iuxtaque Silius hedera vinctus, gerere cothurnos, iacere caput, strepente circum procaci choro, ferunt Vettium Valentem lascivia in praecultam arborem conisum, interrogantibus quid aspiceret, respondisse tempestatem ab Ostia atrocem, sive cooperat ea species, seu forte lapsa vox in praesagium vertit.

Cap. 32. Non rumor interea, sed undique nuntii incidunt, qui gnara Claudio cuncta et venire promptum ultiō adferrent, igitur Messalina Lucullianos in hortos, Silius dissimulando metu ad munia fori digrediuntur, ceteris passim dilabentibus adfuere centuriones, inditaque sunt vincla, ut quis reperiebatur in publico aut per latebras, Messalina tamen, quamquam res adversae consilium eximerent, ire obviam et aspici a marito, quod saepe subsidium habuerat, haud segniter intendit, misitque ut Britannicus et Octavia in complexum patris pergerent, et Vibidiam virginum Vestalium vetustissimam, oravit pontificis maximi aures adire, clementiam expetere...

Cap. 33. *Trepidabatur nihil minus a Caesare: quippe Getae praetorii praefecto haud satis fidebant, ad honesta seu frava iuxta levi*¹⁾. ergo Narcissus, adsumptis quibus idem metus, non aliam spem incolumentis Caesaris affirmat, quam si ius militum uno illo die in aliquem libertorum transferret, seque offert suscepturum...

Cap. 34. ...iam erat in aspectu Messalina clamitabatque audiret Octaviae et Britannici matrem, cum obstrepere accusator, Silium et nuptias referens: simul codicillos libidinum indices tradidit, quis visus Caesaris averteret, nec multo post urbem ingredienti offerebantur communes liberi, nisi Narcissus amoveri eos iussisset. Vibidiam depellere nequivit, quin multa cum invidia flagitaret, ne indefensa coniunx exitio daretur, igitur auditurum principem et fore diluendi criminis facultatem respondit: iret interim virgo et sacra capesseret.

Cap. 35. ...continuus dehinc cohortium clamor nomina reorum et poenas flagitantium; admotusque Silius tribunal non defensionem, non moras temptavit, precatus ut mors acceleraretur, eadem constantia et illustres equites Romani cupidi maturae necis fuerunt. Titium Proculum, custodem a Silio Messalinæ datum et indicium offerentem, Vettium Valentem confessum et Pompeium Urbicum ac Saufium Trogum ex consciis tradi ad supplicium iubet. Decrius quoque Calpurnianus vigilum praefectus, Sulpicius Rufus Iudi procurator, Iuncus Vergilianus senator eadem poena adfecti.

Cap. 36. Solus Mnester cunctationem attulit, dilaniata veste clamitans aspiceret verberum notas, reminisceretur vocis, qua se obnoxium iussis

¹⁾ Quoted as footnote on V. 69.

Messalinae dedisset : *alii largitione aut spei magnitudine, sibi ex necessitate culpam*¹ : nec cuiquam ante pereundum fuisse, si Silius rerum poteretur. conimotum his et proum ad misericordiam Caesarem per pulere liberti, ne tot inlustribus viris interfictis histrioni consuleretur : sponte an coactus tam magna peccavisset, nihil referre. ne Trauli quidem Montani equitis Romani defensio recepta est. *is modesta inventa, sed coriore insigni, accitus ulro noctemque intra unam a Messalina perturbatus erat, furibus lascivis ad cupidinem et fastidia*².

Caf. 37. Interim Messalina Lucullianis in hortis prolatare vitam, compонere preces, nonnulla spe et aliquando ira : tantum inter extrema superbiae gerebat. ac ni cudem eius Narcissus proferavisset, verterat ferocies in accusatorem³). nam Claudius domum regressus et tempestivis epulis delenitus, ubi vino incaluit, iri iubet nuntiarique miseriae (hoc enim verbo usum ferunt) dicendam ad causam postero die adesset, quod ubi auditum et languescere ira, redire amor ac, si cunctarentur, propinqua nox et uxorii cubiculi memoria timebantur, prorumpit Narcissus demuntiatque centurionibus et tribuno, qui aderat, exsequi caudem ; ita imperatorem iubere, custos et exactor e libertis Euodus datur. isque raptim in hortos praegressus repperit fusam humi, adsidente matre *Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat*⁴) suadebatque ne percussorem opperiret : transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum. sed animo per libidines corrupto nihil honestum inerat : lacrimaeque et questus irriti ducebantur, cum impetu venientium pulsae forces adstinctaque tribunus per silentium, at libertus increpans multis et servilibus probris.

Caf. 38. Tunc primum fortunam suam introspectum ferrumque accepit, quod frustra ingulo aut factori fer trepidationem admovens ictu tribuni transigitur⁵). corpus matris concessum, nuntiatumque Claudio epulanti perisse Messalinam, non distincto sua an aliena manu, nec ille quaesivit, poposcitque poculum et solita convivio celebravit. ne securis quidem diebus odi gaudii, irae tristitiae, ullius denique humani affectus signa dedit, non cum lactantes accusatores aspiceret, non cum filios maerentes.

Tacitus bears further testimony to Messalina's cruelty and lewdness in Lib. XI. 1-3; 12; XII. 7; XIII. 43. Silius is mentioned also in XI. 5, 6, as resisting the extortioner Suillius. Richards' presentation of the characters harmonises with these passages, though not directly utilising the incidents. On the other hand he ignores absolutely the references, in other connections, to Lepida and Silana, which present their characters in a very unfavourable light⁶).

Suetonius refers four times to this series of incidents. His first passage (*Tib. Claudius et Drusus*, XXVI) adds nothing to

¹) Quoted as footnote on I. 374.

²) Quoted as footnote on III. 238.

³) Quoted as footnote on V. 434.

⁴) Quoted as footnote on V. 518.

⁵) Quoted as footnote on V. 533.

⁶) v. pp. 46, 49 f.

Tacitus' account, merely stating that Messalina married Silius and was therefore put to death by Claudius. The second passage is quoted by Richards :

« ...Nam illud omnem fidem excesserit, quod nuptus, quas Messalina cum adultero Silio fecerat, tabellas dotis et ipse consignaverit; inductus, quasi de industria simularentur, ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quedam ostenta portenderetur »¹⁾.

In chapter XXXVI, Suetonius emphasises Claudius' cowardice, and states that fear of losing the Empire, not a sense of his dishonour through Messalina's conduct, made him smother his love for her.

The fourth reference²⁾, showing the indifference of Claudius to Messalina's death, is ignored by Richards, like the passage in Tacitus³⁾ which it corroborates.

Pliny supplies only the incident of Messalina's successful match with a prostitute in her trade :

« ...Messalina Claudi Caesaris coniunx regalem existumans palmam elegit in id certamen nobilissimam e prostitutis ancillam mercenariae stipis, cumque nocte ac die superavit quinto atque vicesimo concubitu »⁴⁾.

Juvenal. From Juvenal's sixth satire⁵⁾ Richards takes the statement that Messalina frequented a brothel ; but he changes the details altogether.

Further, Richards follows Juvenal in his distribution of the blame for the marriage between Messalina and Silius. Silius appears altogether as the victim ; himself the best of the patricians, destroyed through Messalina.

« ...elige quidnam
suadendum esse putas cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat, optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguedus
Messalinae oculis⁶⁾. dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo, Tyriusque palam genialis in hottis

¹⁾ Tib. *Claudius Drusus*, XXIX. Quoted as footnote on IV. 11.

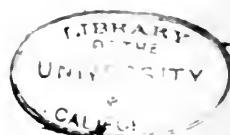
²⁾ *ibid.*, XXXIX.

³⁾ *Ann. Lib.*, XI cap. 38 ad fin.

⁴⁾ *Nat. Hist. Lib.* X. § 172. Quoted as footnote on I. 18. Pliny's only other references to Messalina are in *Nat. Hist. Lib.* XXIX. Cap. 1, §§ 8, 20 — incidental references to her adultery.

⁵⁾ vv. 115-132. Richards had already borrowed some touches from this passage in *The Vicious Courtier* (v. p. 11).

⁶⁾ Quoted as motto on the title-page.



sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas.
non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat, dic;
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas;
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingit principis aures.
dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus, interea tu
obsequere imperis, si tanti vita dierum
paucorum. quidquid melius leviusque putaris,
praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix »¹⁾.

It is rather remarkable that Richards does not cite this passage in full as authority for his contradiction of Tacitus, whose account he follows so closely in most respects. Tacitus states ²⁾ that it is Silius who proposes marriage, and that Messalina at first receives the proposal coldly. Richards combines the two versions very skilfully. Tacitus represents Silius as becoming Messalina's paramour because death is the sure alternative ³⁾. Richards transfers the statement of coercion, making the threat of death explicit and immediate, to the scene in which Messalina commands Silius to kill his wife. Messalina's proposal of marriage then follows naturally, explaining her murderous instructions and offering Silius the reward which (as in Tacitus' version) he ardently desires ⁴⁾.

Further traces of the influence of Juvenal, especially of Sat. VI., are treated in the notes ⁵⁾.

Richards names *Plutarch* also as testifying to Messalina's « Lust and Rule over doating Majestie » ⁶⁾.

This is a mere flourish, to strengthen his historical defence against criticism. Plutarch does not mention Messalina.

A later Graeco-Roman historian, on the other hand, who gives important confirmation of Messalina's character, is not adduced : Cassius Dio, who gives instances of Messalina's pitiless cruelty and corruption (LX. 8, 5; 15, 5; 16, 2; 18, 3-4; 27, 4; 31, 2) and of her lust (LX. 18, 1). Presumably Richards was unacquainted with Dio's work.

¹⁾ *Sat.* X, ll. 329-345.

²⁾ *Ann.* XI, 20.

³⁾ *ibid.* XI, 12.

⁴⁾ Act II., 178 ff.

⁵⁾ Cf. remarks on Juvenal's influence on Richards' satirical poems, pp. 7, 11.

⁶⁾ *Epistle Dedicatory.*

It is impossible to say whether the abundance of violent deaths on the stage, the use of the supernatural, the unvarying fortitude with which the Empress's favourites meet death, and the inflated rhetoric of the style, are due to a knowledge of Seneca, or simply to the widespread influence of Seneca in earlier English tragedy¹⁾. Seneca supplies no material; his references to Messalina (in the tragedy *Octavia*) are all incidental, and contain nothing that is not to be found in Tacitus. The Latin line which opens our play, attributed to Seneca²⁾, is not a quotation from him, though the thought is familiar in his work as in that of several other Latin authors³⁾. Nor does the introduction of Mela, Seneca's brother, with his philosophical disquisitions, give us any material directly traceable to Seneca. One phrase in our play is indeed based on him; but the suggestion probably reached Richards at second hand⁴⁾.

To sum up: while there is nothing improbable in the suggestion that Richards was acquainted with Seneca's work, there is no evidence, either in matter or phrase, which is not perfectly explicable by the transmitted influence of the English Senecan tradition⁵⁾.

(b). *Suggestions from English predecessors.* *Messalina* further bears traces of the influence of some of Richards' English predecessors; especially, as might be expected, of Shakespeare.

Shakespeare. The play which exercised most influence on *Messalina* is *Macbeth*. The debt, as regards the metre, of the songs of the Furies and of the Spirits in *Messalina* (II. 120 ff., V. 441 ff.) to the witch-scenes in *Macbeth*, is indicated below, p. 62.

It seems very probable that not only the metre, but the whole

¹⁾ Cf. Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, London, 1873; pp. 39-43, 41-6, 28 f., 18 f., respectively for the four points in the order named.

²⁾ « *Sola virtus vera nobilitas.*

So speakes our times best Tutor Seneca; — I. i. 3.

³⁾ v. note ad loc.

⁴⁾ v. V. 166 f. and note.

⁵⁾ For discussion of this influence, v. Cunliffe, *op. cit.*

conception of these supernatural passages, was suggested by *Macbeth*. As the riddling prophecy of the witches drives Macbeth to his crime, and, later, the visions shown to him by them prelude his doom, so — though their interventions are mere incidents instead of vital moments — the Furies rouse in Messalina « a plurisy of lust », and the Spirits' « Song of Despair » prepares her for her fate.

The witch-scenes, further, furnished the model for the division of the songs — the Furies' trio and the Spirits' duet — each singer in turn taking a passage. The immediate hint for the use of a musical accompaniment to the latter (*Messalina* V. 441 ff.) may have been given by the stage direction following *Macbeth* IV. I. 43 : « Music and a song, « Black Spirits » etc. » (cf. also *Macb.* III. 33) ; and the « anticke » danced by the Furies (*Mess.* II. 152) follows the stage direction for *Macb.* IV. I. 132 : « Music. The Witches dance, and then vanish with Hecate ». The thunder accompanying the appearance of the ghosts to Saufellus (*Mess.* V. 134 ff.) may have been suggested by the thunder, thrice repeated as the apparitions confront Macbeth (IV. 1.), though of course the device was common property.

In addition to these supernatural scenes must be named the scene between Mela and Montanus (*Mess.* III. 1 ff.), which recalls *Macb.* IV. 3, where Malcolm, fearing treachery, at first dissimulates to Macduff, and then reveals his true feelings, and claims Macduff's friendship. Further, Menester's comparison of man's life to a player's role (*Mess.* V. 321 ff.) may have been suggested by *Macb.* V. 5. 24 ff., though more probably by *The Merchant of Venice* I. 1. 77 ff. Finally, phrasal reminiscence from *Macbeth* occurs distinctly in *Mess.* V. 275, and probably again, distorted, in II. 275 (v. notes).

The Brothel scenes in *Messalina* very naturally show the influence of the similar scenes in *Pericles* (v. note on *Mess.* I. 173 ff.); and a phrasal reminiscence from the same play is noted at V. 263.

Richard III. (V. 3.) probably gave the hint for the appearance to Messalina of the ghosts of all her victims; a probability strengthened by the apparent connection between the phrase « Despair, and die » repeated by nine of the ghosts in *Rich. III.*,

and used with slight variations by the remaining two also, and the Spirits' « Song of Despair » to Messalina. A possible slight phrasal reminiscence is noted at V. 106.

A few phrases reminiscent of *Hamlet* occur, of which the most important are found in III. 53 ff. (v. note). The others are discussed in the notes on II. 297, III. 22, 81, 189. For phrases and thoughts suggested by other plays of Shakespeare, see notes on I. 45, IV. 110, V. 321, 520.

Tourneur. Of other influences traceable in *Messalina*, the clearest is that of Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, noted at IV. 124, 237, V. 23-4, 153, 225. Richards had previously borrowed from this play in *The Celestiall Publican*¹⁾ and *Deaths Masqueing Night*²⁾.

Marston. *The Dutch Courtezan* may very well have furnished hints for three situations in *Messalina*. At the opening of Marston's play, Malheureux appears as virtuous, and tries to dissuade his friend Freevill from vice³⁾. The two go together to a brothel, Malheureux still wrapped in his virtue; and then Malheureux is overcome by Franceschina's charms⁴⁾. Compare with this the opening scenes of *Messalina*⁵⁾, showing the seduction of Silius in steps exactly corresponding.

Again, Franceschina makes Malheureux promise to murder Freevill⁶⁾: compare with this Messalina's demand that Silius shall murder Silana⁷⁾.

Malheureux recoils from the murder, and confesses to Freevill, who goes into hiding so that Franceschina may believe him killed⁸⁾. Silius, though indeed intending the crime, which Malheureux never does, similarly evades his promise, while satisfying the Empress⁹⁾. All these events in *Messalina* are pure

¹⁾ v. 485 : cf. p. 5 note 2.

²⁾ vv. 25 ff. cf. p. 25 note 3.

³⁾ *D. C.*, I. i. 64 ff. (*Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen, London, 1887, Vol. II).

⁴⁾ *D. C.* I. 2. 181 ff.

⁵⁾ *Mess.* I. 1 ff., 188 ff.

⁶⁾ *D. C.* II. 2. 149 ff.

⁷⁾ *Mess.* II. 178 ff.

⁸⁾ *D. C.* III. 1. 227 ff.

⁹⁾ *Mess.* II. 394 ff.

additions to the material Richards drew from his Latin sources¹⁾, and were very probably suggested to him, as apt developments perfectly harmonising with his conception of his story, by *The Dutch Courtezan*. The probability is increased by Richards' use of a quotation²⁾ and a not very common classical allusion³⁾, both of which occur in similar settings in Marston's play.

Kyd's *Spanish Tragedie* was certainly known to Richards, as is proved by his imitation of a passage therefrom in *The Divell*⁴⁾. Probable slight traces of its influence on our play are noted at II. 390, V. 164, 167.

(c) *Passages from Richards' non-dramatic work*: Richards works into *Messalina* scraps from his moral and satirical poems, sometimes quoting with little or no alteration, sometimes only recalling phrases or ideas. These borrowings are generally sententious passages of general application. The actual quotations occur in I. 215-6; II. 345-6; III. 33-5, 339-40; IV. 286-90, 298-9; V. 316-7, 321-4. For sources and remarks, v. notes.

5. *Richards' development of his material*. The first fact made clear by a comparison of the play with the account of its main incidents given by Tacitus, is that Richards consistently emphasises and heightens the wickedness of Messalina.

(I). This appears in her actions.

(a). Richards adds, from Pliny, the incident of her prostitution to twenty-five men in the space of a day and a night; and refers to it repeatedly.

(b). Richards adds the murder, at Messalina's command, of the three Roman dames, because of their unflinching chastity. (II. 14 ff.). This is pure invention. At a later reference to it (V. 89) a passage from Tacitus is quoted as authority: “...Multas mortes iussu Messalinae patratas...” (XI. 28); but the deaths here recalled are those caused through false

¹⁾ Cf. p. 43 f.

²⁾ v. *Messalina* II. 531, and note.

³⁾ v. *Messalina* III. 280, and note.

⁴⁾ v. s. p. 13.

accusations (XI. 1-3; XIII. 43; cf. Dio, *loc. cit.* p. 38). The historical records indeed paint Messalina as vilely lewd and cruel; but never suggest that she went to the length of murder from mere spite against chastity.

(c). Where Tacitus records simply that Messalina forces Silius to divorce his wife (XI. 12), Richards represents her as insisting on the wife's death¹⁾, and threatening Silius himself with instant death at her own hands if he refuse to commit the murder (II. 161 ff.). And though Silius does not fulfil his promise, the death of the virtuous Silana stands ultimately against Messalina.

(d). Richards follows Juvenal, in contradiction of his chief authority Tacitus, in making the proposal of marriage come from Messalina, who thus incurs the whole active blame for the deed²⁾.

(e). The attempted rape of the virgins³⁾ at her command is wholly an addition by Richards, without foundation in any of his authorities.

II. Messalina's own speeches also emphasise her wickedness, revealing her not only as personally depraved, but as a veritable apostle of lust⁴⁾.

III. Messalina's wickedness is heightened by changes in the characters of the other persons represented.

(a). *Silius*, though appearing first in a favourable light in the *Annales* (resisting the accuser Suillius, XI. 5), is represented by Tacitus as ready to make the best of his connection with Messalina when it has once been thrust upon him; himself proposing the marriage which is their crowning and fatal crime. Richards, accepting the general outline, borrows Juvenal's conception to colour and modify it; emphasising first Silius' virtue before his seduction by Messalina, and then exhibiting him as the victim of infatuation. Elements of good are still active in him (II. 394 ff.), but, more even than fear or ambition, the passion which Messalina has succeeded in awakening

¹⁾ Possibly suggested by Marston's *Dutch Courtezan*. Cf. p. 41.

²⁾ Cf. p. 37 f.

³⁾ IV. 268 ff., V. 107 ff.

⁴⁾ e. g. I. 267-79, II. 112 ff., 288-45.

makes him powerless against her will. While the impression of mere abject helplessness in Silius given by Juvenal's lines is avoided, Richards retains and strengthens the elements mitigating his guilt and aggravating Messalina's. Silius appears, at the very opening of the play, as a virtuous philosopher, deploreding the ill customs of the times, and vowing himself to the sole pursuit of virtue (I. 1-17). It is through his moral zeal and desire to reform his friends, that Valens and Proculus are able to bring him to the brothel (I. 18 ff.) as the Empress desires. There, in the dialogue before her appearance, Silius' hatred of lust finds expression in denunciations exactly in the tone of Richards' own (I. 188 ff., cf. satirical poems, p. 7 ff.). Even when the Empress appears and declares her love, Silius still seeks to resist temptation, though he recognises his danger (I. 241 ff.); and the Empress, knowing him to be « a fayling, pure, precise one », has prepared means to overcome his will. He is drugged, and so brought to her embraces with no power to resist (I. 252 ff.). Silius' guilt in the first step is thus reduced to a negligible minimum, the weakness of conscious consent through fear being removed.

Messalina's demand for the murder of Silana is, as already noted ¹⁾, entirely Richards' addition. It tends to blacken the character of Silius, as well as that of Messalina; for though he at first resists, he yields to Messalina's insistence. It is however his mad infatuation about her, not her threat, that makes him consent (II. 186 ff.); and the next scene (II. 394 ff.) shows him again in a more favourable light. He is torn between good motives and bad; feels all the beauty of virtue, yet cannot break loose from his passion for Messalina. He disobeys her command, despite the danger, and declares his joy at doing so and his reverence for Silana's constancy :

« I doe love
Those vertues in another, though I want
The like performance ; nor shall my high ayme
Rais'd on advancements top do me more good
Than th' enjoyning free from the act of blood.
• • • • •
Never was man so infinitely

¹⁾ v. p. 43.

Bewitcht ; charm'd and enchanted as is *Caius Silius*, to leave a constant wife... »

(II. 525-*n*, 532-*s*).

His desertion of Silana is blamed upon Fate (II. 513-4, 545) ; and the feeling is conveyed that, with the virtuous Silana, Silius would display noble qualities ; that he is depraved by Messalina. Further, Silius gains respect from Silana's devotion to him ; while an additional excuse is furnished for him, as for all the adulterers and followers of Messalina, in the seductive beauty constantly attributed to the Empress. None of Richards' authorities explicitly declares that Messalina is beautiful ¹⁾), though of course this is a very natural inference. Richards however insists on it again and again ²⁾.

Finally, some justification is given for Silius' attempt on the crown by the recollection of his father's wrongs, which he wishes to avenge ³⁾) ; and, as might be expected, Tacitus' description of his firm death is developed, so that at the last he appears again a firm-minded and noble Roman ⁴⁾.

(b). Messalina's wickedness is similarly made the blacker by careful whitewashing of *Claudius*. Richards accepts and emphasises the conception, common to Tacitus, Suetonius and Juvenal, that Claudius was utterly infatuated about Messalina, and thus duped by her ; but though in the play he remains feeble, all his vicious attributes are removed. His two mistresses, Calpurnia and Cleopatra, are left out of the story, though the omission necessitates definite departure from Tacitus (XI. cap. 29-30). His consent to hear Messalina's defence is yielded in direct response to the prayers of the noble Vibidia, and on the reminder that Messalina is the mother of his children (*Mess.* V. 415 ff.); whereas in Tacitus' account, it is volunteered through the good-humour of mere physical contact (XI. 37). The innocent Montanus is not implicated in his revenge (contrast Tac. *Ann.* XI. 36), and the callousness with which, according to Tacitus ⁵⁾ and Suetonius ⁶⁾, he receives the news

¹⁾ The nearest approach is Juvenal's incidental phrase : *Silius cunctum miser extinguedus Messalinae oculis* ». — *Sat.* X. 3323.

²⁾ e. g. I. 290, II. 161 ff., 224 ff., III. 120 ff., 211 ff., V. 43 ff., 187 ff.

³⁾ IV. 67 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 255 ff.

⁵⁾ Tac. *Ann.* XI. 38.

⁶⁾ Suet., *Tib. Claud. Drus.* XXXIX, *ibid.* XXVI.

of Messalina's death, is softened to dignity by the omission of their detail (V. 550 ff.).

The play closes with Claudius' solemn declaration of his resolve never to marry again, but to rule strongly and suppress vice (V. 554 ff.); while the passage in Suetonius, upon which this is based, continues at once to describe how he breaks his oath and contracts an incestuous union with Agrippina. Claudius thus appears in the play solely as the betrayed husband, weak and credulous but in no way vicious, and at the last a worthy Emperor; and Messalina's crimes of infidelity and murderous conspiracy thus become blacker.

(c). *Lepida* is mentioned in this connection only at the end of Tacitus' account, when Messalina is left deserted and despairing in Lucullus' garden: ... « adsidente matre Lepida, quae florenti filiae haud concors supremis eius necessitatibus ad miserationem evicta erat suadebatque ne percussorem opperiretur: transisse vitam neque aliud quam morti decus quaerendum » (XI. 37). Later, however, Tacitus describes her as lewd, infamous and tyrannical: « ...utraque [Lepida et Agrippina] in pudica, infamis, violenta, haud minus vitiis aemulabantur, quam si qua ex fortuna prospera acceperant » (*Ann.* XII. 64). Richards utterly ignores the second passage, and eagerly develops the picture of the mother, forgetting past alienation in the appeal of her child's misery and danger. He not only uses the conception to the full in this scene (V. 444 ff.); working backwards from it, he imagines a long struggle by the virtuous mother to reclaim her daughter from sin. Thus we get the scenes (II. 269 ff., 317 ff.) in which Lepida beseeches Messalina, first with virtuous anger, then with maternal tenderness, to abandon her wicked life. Messalina, though softened for a moment, repulses her; and for a time grief drives Lepida mad (II. 356 ff.). The additional crime of filial impiety is thus laid on Messalina; and her wickedness shows itself proof against the strongest appeals of virtue.

(d). *Menester* is treated much in the same way as *Silius*; his original virtue is very much emphasised, and his corruption by Messalina thus casts the more guilt on her. Tacitus represents that he was forced to yield, by the lash and by the

Emperor's own command ¹⁾). This virtuous picture is, however, marred by an earlier reference to his adultery with Poppaea ²⁾. Suetonius also mentions that Menester was previously polluted by Caligula. ³⁾

Richards ignores all but Tacitus' statement that Menester yielded only on compulsion. He appears first as wholly virtuous (I. 353 ff.) : —

* In my life's sweet sequell I still striv'd
Wrestled with flesh and blood to immitate
The good I then preferred »...

Even though he knows that refusal of Messalina's favours means death (I. 345-6), he dares it ; and the torture that breaks his resolve is actually shown on the stage, not merely described, so that its horror is more real and his weakness more easily pardoned. Even then he declares

* ...my paine, but
Not my minde yeelds to your bed... »
(I. 407-8)

and the Act closes with his sad reflections on human weakness.

Later, it is true, he appears among those bewitched by Messalina's beauty ; and dies firmly, instead of begging mercy because he was coerced. This, however, makes Messalina's power of evil still greater than if, as in Tacitus, he remained an unwilling victim. She seduces the will as well as the body. Menester's fate, like that of Silius, throws on Messalina the guilt of utterly ruining a good man.

(e). *General.* The other associates and creatures of Messalina

¹⁾ *Ann.* XI. 36. Dio's account (LX. 22, 5) is still more favourable to Menester : Menester resists alike Messalina's rewards and threats, and is brought to yield only when the Emperor, worked upon by Messalina, commands him « to obey her in all things ». That Richards does not use this account, which would serve his purpose alike in its emphasis on Menester's unwillingness and on Messalina's power to dupe Claudius, adds to the probability that he was unacquainted with Dio's work (Cf. p. 38).

²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 4 « at causa [Petrae] necis ex eo, quod dominum suam Mnesteris et Poppaei congressibus praebuissent ». Many old editions however read *Valerii* for *Mnesteris*, and thus Richards may have been saved the complication as far as Tacitus' account is concerned.

³⁾ *Suet.*, *Calig.* XXXVI ; cf. LV. Cf. also Dio, LX. 22, 3 ; 28, 2.

lina, merely named by Tacitus, necessarily gain more importance in the larger scale of the play. Their development follows the obvious direction : they all appear as wholly lustful and debauched. The villainy of *Saufellus* in particular is emphasised. Tacitus names him merely as an accomplice (XI. 35), but in the play he is represented as pandar, murderer and plotter of rape, as well as adulterer. With similar effect, new characters are introduced in the *Bawd*, *Hem* and *Stitch*, adding the ugliness of the lowest types of villainy. The remaining person of the brothel-group, *Calphurnia*, is however not wholly bad. Despite her occupation, she is less lustful than Messalina ; « nor is it lust » she declares « but want, makes me a trader ; and those I clip with, I must like at least » (I. 118-9) ; and when Silius, to the Bawd's shocked indignation, denounces lust, Calphurnia exclaims « O, I could stand my lifetime here, to hear this Silius rail »¹⁾.

Richards' favourable view of her appears in that he allows her apparently to escape punishment ; for he obviously feels it his duty to show that retribution overtakes vice, and her three wickeder associates all meet terrible deaths ; just as in the loftier group of Messalina's associates, all perish except the « virtuously-inclined » Montanus.

Richards thus deepens the blackness of his picture of lust by a series of vicious figures — some entirely new, the others very much developed from mere hints in Tacitus — emphasising the foulness of the Empress, round whom they are grouped and under whom they flourish. On the other hand, several new characters and incidents are introduced to give the contrasted picture of the beauty of virtue. Here, as pure additions, without any suggestion from his authorities, we have the firm chastity of the three *Roman dames*, who prefer death to shame²⁾, and the providential salvation of the *Festal Virgins*³⁾. The virtue of *Montanus* and his resistance to Messalina, described by

¹⁾ I. 227-8. Cf. Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Part I, I. 6 ('Dram. Works', Vol II, London, 1873, p. 37), where Bellafront, denounced by Hipolito, says « O yes, I pray proceed : Indeed, 'twill do me good to weep indeed ». Calphurnia's character, so far as the slight sketch goes, recalls that of Bellafront.

²⁾ II. 14 ff.

³⁾ IV. 68 ff., V. 107 ff.

Tacitus in one brief sentence ¹⁾, are exhibited at tedious length ²⁾, and he is given a partner in morality in *Mela*. Tacitus gives the latter a character far from blameless ³⁾, and Richards' transformation of the greedy money-hunter into a moral philosopher ⁴⁾ affords another example of his whitewashing art.

Most important of all, by ignoring complicating passages outside his immediate material — it may be deliberately, it may be through actual ignorance of them — Richards produces two incarnations of female virtue in *Silana* and *Lepida* — the perfect wife and the perfect mother.

Silana was, according to Tacitus, « insignis genere forma lascivia » ⁵⁾. She quarrelled with Agrippina because the latter hindered her remarriage after the death of Silius ⁶⁾; raised an accusation against her in revenge ⁷⁾; and, being banished on this account ⁸⁾, died in exile ⁹⁾. Richards, however, takes over from Tacitus only the fact of her divorce by Silius at the Empress's command, and freely invents details for a complete picture of deeply wronged virtue. Silana appears in the play as « the true Emblem of a perfect wife »; never even reproaching her husband for his desertion and his intention to murder her, except by her own protestation of innocence; willing to die rather than, by living, to cause him danger; and when he pays the penalty of his crime, dying brokenhearted on his corpse — as faithful and more passionate than Lucrece or Portia ¹⁰⁾.

¹⁾ *Ann.* XI. 36.

²⁾ III passim; especially III. 232 ff., and in dialogue with *Mela* (v. i. note 4).

³⁾ *Ann.* XVI. 18. It is true that Richards finds some slight justification in *Mela*'s readiness to meet death, and in the protestation in his will (judged however by Tacitus to be fictitious) of his innocence of serious crime.

⁴⁾ III. 197, 178-192, 300-358.

⁵⁾ *Ann.* XIII. 19.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*

⁷⁾ *ibid.*, and XIII. 21.

⁸⁾ XIII. 22.

⁹⁾ XIV. 12.

¹⁰⁾ II. 412 ff., V. 356 ff. Silana recalls Shakespeare's Imogen, who welcomes the prospect of death since she has lost her husband's love (*Cymbeline* III. 4), and forgets her wrongs when she believes him dead, falling unconscious on the corpse she believes to be his (*ibid.* IV. 2). But Imogen utters reproaches against Posthumus (III. 4) though she still loves him, and does not die, though she believes him dead. Richards will not stop short of the superlative degree, and Silana's devotion is absolute.

The chief foil, however, for Messalina's blackness, is *Lepida*; whose character, very shady according to Tacitus, is transfigured by Richards, as already noted, to immaculate white perfection. She is the complete model of virtue, the protectress of chastity, as Messalina is the summary of vice, the fomenter of lust. The play thus becomes a moral exposition by contrasts. John Robinson, himself an actor in the piece, takes as its kernel the chief contrast :

« Thy nimble scenes discover
Romes lust-burnt Emp'resse and her virtuous Mother »¹⁾.

The same contrast is specially emphasised by Combes²⁾.

The moral purpose of the play is further illustrated by numerous set speeches exalting virtue and denouncing vice : for example, Silius' opening monologue³⁾; his denunciation of vice, in the brothel⁴⁾, and his praises of virtue to his wife⁵⁾; Menester's soliloquy, recalling his aspirations towards virtue⁶⁾; Lepida's persuasions to repentance, addressed to Messalina⁷⁾; and Mela's discourses to Montanus⁸⁾.

It is above all the moral aim of the play which receives praise in the commendatory verses; for example, Rawlins writes

« Thy labour'd lines
Curbs Vice, crownes Vertue, gold from drosse refines.
All gazing eyes may see thy Anchorite Muse
Delights in a conversion, not abuse :
Romes mightie Whore by thee adorns the Stage
For to convert, not to corrupt this Age.

Applaud that happy wit whose veines can stirre
Religious thoughts, though in a Theator »⁹⁾.

Richards himself declares his purpose, in the Epistle Dedicatory : « The sole Ayme of my discovery herein, no otherwise

¹⁾ v. i., reprint of Robinson's commendatory verses.

²⁾ v. i., reprint of commendatory verses.

³⁾ I. 1 ff.

⁴⁾ I. 188 ff.

⁵⁾ II. 478 ff.

⁶⁾ I. 346 ff.

⁷⁾ II. 272 ff., 317 ff.

⁸⁾ III. 1 ff.

⁹⁾ v. i., reprint of commendatory verses.

tends than to separate Soules from the discovered Evill, the suppression of Vice, and exaltation of Virtue, flight from sinne for feare of Iudgement ».

So again in the Prologue :

« To see high towring sinnes just punishment
And Vertues praise; insatiate lust to die,
And chast Dames star'd unto Eternitie,
Will not this please? »¹⁾

The play thus falls perfectly into line with Richards' moral and satirical poems, for in them also, denunciation of lust and declaration of its inevitable punishment form the favourite motive^{2).}

6. *Construction, and feeling for stage-effect.* While Richards thus appears, in *Messalina* as in his other work, pre-eminently as the moralist, he displays nevertheless some power of dramatic construction, and considerable feeling for stage-effect.

A common fault of historical tragedies is over-simplicity of plot, simple progress of good fortune being suddenly checked and changed to bad. This fault sometimes appears even in the work of masters of the drama ; in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, for example, and still more in Jonson's *Sejanus*. In *Messalina* it is joined with another fault to which the historical play is peculiarly liable — the introduction of episodes concerning the central person, but not the central action of the play.

The central action of *Messalina* is recognised by Richards in the lines from Juvenal quoted on the title-page :

• ...Optimus hic et formosissimus idem
Gentis patriciae rapitur miser extinguedus
Messalinae oculis »^{3).}

Messalina's seduction of Silius, culminating in their marriage : that is the central action to be presented. All Messalina's other sins might have escaped unpunished — her passing love-intrigues, her acts of lust and cruelty ; it is only her marriage with Silius, creating a political danger, that draws retribution

¹⁾ l. 20 f.

²⁾ Cf. p. 7 ff.

³⁾ *Sat.* X. 331-3.

upon her. All other incidents, then, should have been strictly subordinated to this. Episodes illustrating Messalina's character and introducing contrasting characters might legitimately be added, but they ought to have been kept in strict proportion to the central theme.

Although Richards shows distinct cleverness in working the secondary episodes into connection with the main action, the scenes in which Montanus and Mela appear forming the single and lamentable exception, he fails to observe this correct proportion, and treats the incidental episodes much too elaborately. He is tempted to do so by the simplicity of his plot; and his moral purpose adds to the temptation, since the additions heighten the contrast between vice and virtue.

The fault of oversimplicity of plot occurs already in the story as told by Tacitus. We find there a triumphant progress of unchecked crime until Claudius is aroused; and then, without any serious resistance to the new course of fortune, Messalina's utter fall and death. Still, Tacitus gives hints which might have been developed for the complication of the plot. The opponents of Messalina fear to tell Claudius the news of the marriage, knowing his utter infatuation about the Empress; and at length they do so through his mistresses¹⁾. Hence a time of uncertainty could be introduced, instead of the perfectly abrupt and unquestioning change of front which Richards makes Claudius exhibit. He sacrifices this possibility in order to whitewash Claudius²⁾. Again, Tacitus records Messalina's attempts to gain speech with Claudius, and her efforts to move him through the sight of their children, Britannicus and Octavia; attempts defeated by Narcissus³⁾. Richards omits all this. Of the efforts made to appease Claudius, he retains only the intercession of Vibidia; which he represents as successful, compressing into a single incident two separate facts of Tacitus' story — her effort, frustrated by Narcissus, and Claudius' voluntary appointment of an interview with Messalina⁴⁾.

On the other hand, Richards adds a moment's tension by

¹⁾ *Ann.* XII, 20-30.

²⁾ Cf. p. 45.

³⁾ *Ann.* XI, 32, 34.

⁴⁾ *Messalina*, V, 415 ff., cf. *Ann.*, XI, 34, 37.

making Messalina actually receive the news of Claudius' consent to hear her; thus giving a flash of hope just before the tragic climax. Had he similarly developed the earlier incidents tending to make the issue doubtful — the difficulty of rousing Claudius' anger against Messalina, her desperate efforts to escape her fate — the earlier action of the play need not have been so long drawn out. As it is, Richards undertakes the difficult task of filling the first three acts with the scanty material furnished by Tacitus in the *Annales*, XI, 12 and 26¹), supplemented by slight borrowings from Pliny²) and Juvenal³).

In performing this task, Richards displays considerable inventive power, and a workmanlike ability to throw his incidents into connected form. The brothel scenes are cleverly fitted into the main story by making the brothel the place of Silius' fatal meeting with the Empress. Similarly, the compulsion of Menester is made the natural first-fruits of Messalina's greater license through Claudius' departure to Ostia. The same neat dovetailing is shown in the introduction of the entirely new material filling Act II. The attack on the chaste Roman dames follows Messalina's command in an earlier scene⁴, and Lepida is introduced naturally, as the sole refuge of chastity. This scene leads directly to those between Lepida, Messalina and Saufellus⁵), with their excellent melodrama of the mother upbraiding and then pleading. Here, Messalina's momentary softening furnishes a solitary anticipation of her death-hour repentance, and varies the monotony of her utter wickedness. In Lepida's madness, caused by her daughter's rough refusal of her good counsel, another useful stage-effect is gained, which is again turned to account in IV, 192 ff.

Richards' eagerness for striking situations leads him into

¹) Cf. p. 33 f. The bulk of chapter 26 is devoted to Silius' arguments, persuading Messalina to marry him : matter which becomes useless to Richards on his transferring the proposal of marriage to Messalina.

²) Cf. p. 37 f.

³) *Sat.* X, 320 ff., VI, 115 ff. The latter passage furnishes merely the fact that Messalina visited a brothel — none of the detail is taken over. Cf. p. 57 and note on text, I, 68.

⁴) I, 280 ff.

⁵) II, 269 ff., 315 ff.

absurdity in the scene between Messalina and Silius¹⁾, where she enforces «with a Pistoll» her demand that he shall murder his wife; but the scenes thus introduced, between the misguided husband and the faithful wife²⁾, again afford excellent melodrama, and almost something higher. The scene in Silana's bedchamber comes nearer to genuine tragic effect than any other in the play; although the language, except for one brief moment³⁾, is here — as generally — pompous and unnatural.

The third act is very obviously padding, though doubtless Richards' moralising zeal gave him more interest in the Mela-Montanus scenes than the spectator was likely to feel. He tries to enliven them by the trial of Mela's virtue⁴⁾, and also adds the quarrel — absurd without being amusing — between Valens, Proculus and Menester⁵⁾; but he utterly fails to connect this act with the rest of the play.

In the remaining acts, Richards' powers of construction are only slightly tested, for his authorities supply him with the main outlines and much of the detail. His additions, however, are cleverly worked in. The favourites' interesting discussion of the arrangements for the masque⁶⁾ leads up to the design against the vestals, which in turn is made to explain Vibidia's intercession with Claudius on Messalina's behalf⁷⁾, out of gratitude to her mother.

7. *Further illustrations of Richards' feeling for stage-effect.* The climax is remorselessly melodramatic: Messalina's favourites, including Proculus and Menester⁸⁾, die heroically in series, so that each gets the opportunity for a little dying speech⁹⁾; while the agony is heaped up by Silius' farewell to his wife, and her

¹⁾ II. 197 ff.

²⁾ II. 364 ff., V. 356 ff.

³⁾ *Sil.* «Tis for no fault sustain'd on thy behalfe,
No; 'tis the Empresse Doome,

Syl. She; nay then » II. 446-8.

⁴⁾ III. 18 ff.

⁵⁾ III. 103 ff.

⁶⁾ IV. 215 ff.

⁷⁾ V. 415 ff.

⁸⁾ According to Tacitus (*Ann.* XI. 35-6) these two were exceptions to the general fitness; cf. note on V. 294.

⁹⁾ V. 292 ff.

death on his corpse. Even Messalina is brought into the conventional line, bidding a penitent farewell to her mother, and dying firmly¹⁾; failing to kill herself through lack of strength, not of courage, and begging for the final stroke, which according to Tacitus²⁾, was struck by Evodius in impatience with her own timid and hesitating attempt.

The Senecan tradition, which inspires this rather monotonous emphasis on desperate fortitude in face of death³⁾, also made the exhibition on the stage of violent deaths and other horrors a common habit in Elizabethan tragedy⁴⁾; but Richards, in his desire to lose no jot of stage effect, passes the usual limits. Of the twenty-eight persons of the play, eleven are slain on the stage, one dies broken-hearted on the stage, and four are slain off the stage. Further, Menester is tortured on the stage, and Lepida goes mad.

Numerous highly rhetorical set speeches, including some truly in « Ercles vein », bear further witness alike to the influence of the Senecan tradition⁵⁾ and to Richards' strong though crude sense for stage-effect. Silius' soliloquy beside his sleeping wife, and her narration, on waking, of her dream⁶⁾, stand rather apart, intended chiefly to emphasise the pathos of the broken tie; while Silius' address to his partisans⁷⁾ and Narcissus' speech in the Masque scene⁸⁾ preserve some dignity even when the rhetoric grows strained. Rants pure and simple, however, occur in Messalina's two declarations of her abandonment to lust⁹⁾, and her dying speech¹⁰⁾; the outbursts of Claudius' anguish of shame and passion for revenge¹¹⁾; Silius' invocation of death, and his farewell to Silana¹²⁾; Lepida's

¹⁾ V. 522 ff.

²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 38.

³⁾ Cf. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Eliz. Tragedy*, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁾ Cf. *ib.* pp. 40-43, et passim.

⁵⁾ Cf. *ib.*, p. 18 f.

⁶⁾ II. 394 ff.

⁷⁾ IV. 67 ff.

⁸⁾ V. 206 ff.

⁹⁾ I. 278 ff.; II. 125 ff.

¹⁰⁾ V. 522 ff.

¹¹⁾ V. 28 ff.

¹²⁾ V. 328 ff.

raving, when Messalina's rebuff drives her mad ¹⁾; the closing words of Narcissus after planning Messalina's ruin ²⁾; and the dying speeches of Menester ³⁾ and Saufellus ⁴⁾.

Finally, Richards' desire for stage-effect is shown in his scenic suggestions. The incidents described by Tacitus furnish two obvious opportunities for stage pageantry : the Masque ⁵⁾, and the marriage of Messalina and Silius ⁶⁾. Richards gets two pageants out of the marriage-arrangements. First he presents the scene of the public contract ⁷⁾, as is indeed natural to the course of the story ; then he shows the procession, passing across the stage on the way to the temple ⁸⁾ — an addition simply for the sake of its scenic value, heightening at the same time the effect of Lepida's denunciations.

Similarly, the possibilities of the Masque are fully exploited, and a gorgeous spectacular scene is elaborated round it ⁹⁾. The mob, driven back by the Guard, serves as background for the procession of the Senate. Next follows the Masque ; and at its close Silius and Messalina appear « gloriously crown'd in an Arch-glittering Cloud aloft », and are received as they descend by three courtiers and « three Curtezans in the habit of Queenes with Coronets of state ». Then, in the appearance and speech of Narcissus, Richards introduces the needful black spot ; the contrast between the brilliant scene, and the baleful words of the unnoticed intruder heightening the effect of both.

Another procession-spectacle is introduced on the Emperor's departure to Ostia ¹⁰⁾ ; and a banquet, with music ¹¹⁾, to enliven the dulness of Act III. In addition to the dance mentioned by Tacitus in the revels at the Empress' palace ¹²⁾, a dance is intro-

¹⁾ II. 356 ff.

²⁾ IV. 162 ff.

³⁾ V. 318 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 155 ff.

⁵⁾ Tac., *Ann.* XI. 31.

⁶⁾ *ibid.*, XI. 27.

⁷⁾ IV. 1 ff. Richards neglects the nuptial banquet mentioned by Tacitus, and only alludes to the sacrificial rites without displaying them.

⁸⁾ Following IV. 203.

⁹⁾ V. 183 ff.

¹⁰⁾ Following I. 265.

¹¹⁾ Following III. 230.

¹²⁾ *Ann.* XI. 27; *Mess.* following V. 188.

duced for Messalina and Saufellus¹⁾; and another — practically a small Masque — is performed by the Furies invoked by Messalina : three Furies sing, and eight « dance an anticke »²⁾. An addition very similar to the last-mentioned is the « Song of Despaire », also sung by three spirits³⁾ ; « left out of the Play » Richards pathetically remarks « in regard there was none could sing it in Parts ».

The settings of the supernatural episodes, indeed, supply excellent examples of Richards' desire to secure striking stage-effects, and of the frequent crudity of his results. All the terrors of the stage are lavished on the destruction of Saufellus and the two humbler pandars⁴⁾. To the accompaniment of thunder and lightning, Hem and Stitch sink into the gaping earth ; and Saufellus, confronted by the ghosts of the three murdered dames, by an Angel, and by « Revenge threatening », sinks also « shot with a Thunderbolt ». The ~~ghostly~~ climax, however, is appropriately reserved for Messalina, whose dying hour is made terrible by three spirits, singing to the violin and lute⁵⁾, and no fewer than eleven ghosts, with torches⁶⁾ !

While Richards exploits the supernatural primarily for its stage effect, he also makes it emphasise his moral. The supernatural death of Saufellus and his tools expresses Richards' conception of an active Providence, protecting virtue and punishing its persecutors. Similarly, Messalina's invocation of the Furies of lust, and in a less degree the spirits' « Song of Despaire », suggest an actual connection between her and the powers of evil ; a suggestion corroborated by her speeches⁷⁾. The connection is left vague, half real, half symbolical of her possession by the spirits of lust and cruelty. She stands, not utterly unworthily, among the descendants of Marlowe's titanic creations : as Tamburlaine is the incarnation of ambition, Barabas of avarice and vengefulness, Faustus of the thirst for

¹⁾ Following II. 314.

²⁾ II. 142 ff.

³⁾ Following V. 470.

⁴⁾ V. 145 ff.

⁵⁾ v. s. note 3.

⁶⁾ Following V. 400.

⁷⁾ v. p. 39.

the fulness of life, for the utter satisfaction of all conceivable desires, so Messalina is the incarnation of lust.

8. *Metre*. *Messalina* is written in blank verse, varied by occasional heroic couplets, and by two songs in rhymed trochaic octosyllabics.

I. *The Blank Verse*.

(A). *Apparent irregularities*.

(1). Very many of the apparent metrical irregularities of our text are to be explained by faulty division on the part of the printer, and rearrangement removes them, yielding normal verse.

Here fall the passages beginning with the following verses :

Act I. 20, 123, 267, 282, 297, 322, 356, 402, 407.

» II. 9, 21, 32, 36, 99, 106, 116, 236, 532.

» III. 18, 81, 163, 184, 313, 334, 342.

» IV. 14, 71, 76, 98, 104, 124, 148, 172, 176, 189, 215, 220,
 (223, 257, 275, 279, 314.

» V. 1, 19, 25, 67, 75, 88, 166, 255, 261, 275, 284, 329, 339,
 (379, 399, 515.

For correct division, see notes.

(2). The printer has raised further apparent irregularities by cutting into lengths, as verse, passages of prose¹⁾). Here fall four passages, all belonging to the comic bawd-scenes :

I. 131-158, 176-8, 219-21

II. 89-94.

Richards thus follows the contemporary dramatic convention which limited prose, generally²⁾, to the purposes of comedy. For further remarks, v. notes.

(3). There remain two passages which do not yield to rearrangement as verse ; but which, from their character and setting, cannot be explained as deliberate prose : II. 4-7, IV. 247-253. The former passage occurs in the middle of a very

¹⁾ A rather frequent arrangement in old quartos, cf. Parrott's remark about Chapman's *Cæsar and Pompey*, *Anglia* XXX. 507; Davenport's *King John and Matilda*, p. 75. (*Works*, ed. Bullen, 1890. *Old English Plays*, New Series, Vol. III).

²⁾ Though of course not exclusively : cf. Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 515 a.

serious speech by Lepida, beginning, and after these lines again continuing, in regular verse. The second passage, though less elevated in tone, not only is embedded in verse, but also contains three normal verses (249-51) sandwiched between non-metrical passages (247-8 and 252-3). These cases can be explained only by the supposition that Richards left them in this unfinished form, intending to versify them later, but never carrying out the intention. This explanation is supported by other evidence suggesting that the MS. of *Messalina* was not carefully revised ¹⁾; evidence strengthened by the similar probability in the case of the *Poems Sacred and Satyricall* ²⁾.

(B). *Characteristics of Richard's blank verse.*

The verse of *Messalina*, cleared of the above accidents, has little to distinguish it from the blank verse of other second-rate contemporary plays. It is distinctly less careful than Richard's work in the heroic couplet: a fact explained partly by the change in form, leaving the leading-strings to metrical correctness furnished by rhyme; more, by the change from didactic to dramatic verse. In *Messalina*, Richards considers most the effect of the verse when spoken, and allows himself such licences as would pass unnoticed in delivery on the stage ³⁾.

(a). Here we must mention first a verse-construction the frequent use of which seems peculiar to Richards ⁴⁾: a normal verse followed by a broken verse, so arranged that the latter part of the first verse supplies a metrical equivalent for the missing feet of the broken verse. The result is, that in delivery this latter part of the normal verse does double duty, completing its own verse, and at the same time beginning, and thus normalising, the broken verse ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ v. notes on II. 49, II. 251.

²⁾ v. remarks above on *Mans Misere* (p. 19) and *The Souls Staright* (p. 21).

³⁾ Cf. remarks on Style, p. 62 f.

⁴⁾ Occasional examples are to be found elsewhere; e. g. *Julius Caesar* I. 3. 71-4; but they are rare, and generally attributable to special circumstances, while Richards uses the device in the midst of ordinary verse.

⁵⁾ This device is quite distinct from that which Abbott calls the "Amphibious Section", in which "when a verse consists of two parts uttered by two speakers, the latter part is frequently the former part of the following verse" (*Shak. sp. Grammar* § 513). In all the certain cases of A. S. cited by Abbott, the first verse is the incomplete one, completed by the former part of the following normal verse.

For example, I* 357-8¹⁾ : —

[... some Fiend]

“ Rais’d from the Pit of feare, hath all my goodnesse
To a period dropt ».

Here the last two feet of verse *357 (« hath all my goodnesse ») do double duty ; completing that verse, and by enjambement supplying the missing foot in verse *358, giving a perfect verse : —
“ Hath all my goodnesse to a period dropt ».

In all the cases cited below as indubitable, the beginning of what we may call the *embedded* verse coincides with the cæsura of the complete verse, and the slight pause at the end of the complete verse thus becomes in turn the cæsura of the embedded verse : —

“ Rais’d from the Pit of feare, | hath all my goodnesse | to a period dropt ».

Thus only very careful attention could detect any irregularity in the lines when spoken.

Other examples occur in : IV *317 f., V *75 f., *329 f., 447 f.

Alternative explanations are possible for I 368 f., IV 262 f.²⁾.

(b). *Other departures from the normal verse.*

(1). *Arsis missing after pause* : II. 97, 128, 179, 519 (?) III. 345, IV. *39, 292-3 [?], V. 121, *341, *361.

(2). *Thesis missing after pause* : II. 139, 447, IV. *107, V. 165, 192, 195, *287, 346. Possibly also II. 59, IV. 74, V. 37, *346, 519.

Such lines as those given under (1) and (2) were called “ pause syllable lines ” by Karl Elze, cf. his *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists, with conjectural emendations of the text*, Halle 1884 ; cf. also A. Wagner, *Eng. Stud.* IX. 121 f., and Schipper, *Englische Metrik* II. § 17. In the lines quoted under (1) the pause fills an arsis, in those quoted under (2) a thesis. These latter cases Schipper groups under the heading : « Fehlen der Senkung nach der Cæsur » (*l. c.* § 16 p. 36).

¹⁾ In many cases, where rearrangement of the text-reading is needed for the metre, this causes a discrepancy between the line-numbering as in the text and the verse-numbering under the new arrangement. Thus in the case just quoted, our verse *357, « Rais’d from the Pit » etc., begins, according to the line-numbering in the text, in the middle of l. 356. In such cases, where we wish to refer to the rearranged reading and numbering given in the notes, an asterisk is prefixed to the verse-number.

²⁾ In all cases cf. notes.

(3). *Thesis missing in other positions, before an emphatic word :*

(a). Very frequently the Auftakt is missing before an emphatic word, e. g. V. 6, 27, 193, 294, 355.

(b). A few cases occur, in addition to those named under (2), where the thesis fails within the verse, before an emphatic word : V. 7, 9, 195, *255.

(4). *Catalectic verses* (i. e. lacking the arsis in the fifth foot) : II. *4, III. 22, 331; IV. *79, *139, *172, 234; V. *67, *174, 347, 443, 444, 452, 491, 529, 541. (In the term « catalectic verse » we follow Karl Elze, cf. his *Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists*, Halle 1889). Schipper restricts their use, saying « Anfall der letzten Hebung ist m. E. nur in solchen Fällen anzunehmen, in denen eine Unterbrechung der Rede stattfindet » (II, § 17) and Wagner approves of this decision (*Eng. Stud.* XIV. 144 ff.). But Richards' use of them, without this limitation, is not to be doubted. It is true that some of the cases might be easily corrected, as e. g. IV. 19 by reading « Empery » for « Empire »; but most of them defy emendation, and their number puts them beyond question.

(5). *Epical cæsura* : II. *6, 73, 131, 303, 310, 313-4, IV. *270, V. *75, 171, 177, 190, 257-8, *280 (a 4-beat line) 413, 430, 432, *470-1, 510.

(6). *Alexandrines* : II. *21, IV. *153, 214-5, V. *44, 404.

Possibly also IV. *291, V. *215, *406.

In decasyllabic verses, only isolated peculiarities occur, which are treated in the notes. We may note here the occurrence of a trochee as fifth foot in I. 284, II. 216 (?), IV. *148, V. *90, 95, 96, *277 (?), 543.

The irregularities grow more frequent as the play progresses, the last act containing most. Richards apparently began the play carefully, with the regular habit of his couplet-verses; then, growing familiar with his new metre, took liberties with it.

II. *Rhyme*. The Prologue and Epilogue are in the heroic couplet; and further, 178 verses in heroic couplet occur in the course of the play (excluding 18 verses in which imperfect rhyme occurs probably accidentally). Of these 178 verses,

22 are quoted from the non-dramatic poems ¹⁾).

Richard's use of rhyme in no way departs from custom ²⁾, his rhymed couplets occurring generally, though not exclusively, at the end of speeches, especially of speeches concluding a scene. An exceptional case occurs in the semi-lyrical passage between Messalina and Silius (V. 189 ff.) which contains two rhymed couplets, and two with rich rhyme, each couplet divided between the two speakers.

In rhyme are also the Song of the Furies ³⁾ and the « Song of Despair » ⁴⁾. Both have as basis the trochaic octosyllabic verse sometimes used by Shakespeare for the speeches of witches, fairies and other extraordinary beings (cf. Abbott § 504). The immediate suggestion for its use here was probably given by the songs of the witches in *Macbeth* ⁵⁾. The short lines follow the metre of the short lines spoken by the second witch as Macbeth enters ⁶⁾.

9. *Style*. Some examples of the chief characteristics of the style of *Messalina* may be collected here.

(1). *Free use of simile and metaphor* (as in the non-dramatic poems, cf. p. 4 ff., *passim*, especially pp. 5, 6, 27).

(a). *Simile* : the most striking cases occur in II. 304 ff., 331 ff.; III. 245 ff., 272 ff.; IV. 8 ff., 140 ff., 165 ff.; V. 165 ff., 369; further cases in II. 254, III. 323 f., IV. 108 f., V. 330 f. Cf. also *Classical Allusions* (v. i. § 2).

(b). *Metaphor* : the chief examples are II. 251 f., V. 40, 44 ff., 318 ff., 398, 403 f., 440.

(2). *Classical Allusions*, often in comparisons and similes, occur frequently : e. g. II. 236, 240, 256, 260, 293, 300, 304, 365, 371 ff. III. 125 f., 288 f., V. 159 ff., 203 ff.

(3). *Exaggerated rhetoric; incoherence* : We have already noticed the frequent exaggeration of rhetoric into ranting in *Messalina* ⁷⁾, remarking the joint influence of the Senecan

¹⁾ For references v. s., p. 42.

²⁾ Cf. Abbott Shakesp. Grammar § 515; Goswin Konig *Der Vers in Shakespeares Dramen* p. 122 ff.

³⁾ II. 129 ff.

⁴⁾ V. 441 ff.

⁵⁾ *Macbeth* IV. 1, 1 ff.

⁶⁾ *ibid.* IV. 1, 46 f.

⁷⁾ v. p. 55 f.

tradition and of Richards' desire to secure the utmost stage effect. These influences sometimes lead him, in his search for fine-sounding, mouth-filling phrases, to lose sight of sense. He grows incoherent in II. 241 ff., 256 ff., IV. 12. The worst descent into bathos occurs in II. 483 f. :

“ Of ills 'tis ever best, the worst to shunne,
By murders murderers souls are oft undone ».

Here must further be included Richard's occasional confusion of metaphors and similes. The worst cases are II. 247 ff., 275 ff.; cf. further I. 286-9, 294; III. 170, 401-6 (v. notes).

(4). *Alliteration*. In *Messalina*, as in the non-dramatic poems, Richards uses alliteration freely, though it grows unusually marked only in occasional phrases like “ Puff-paste costly coxcombe ” (I. 28). Cases of more normal use may be found on almost every page; a few from the first half of the first act will suffice as examples : I. 29, 30, 35-6, 54, 56, 68-9, 100, 124-5, 141, 149, 160, 162, 163, 171, 194-5, 199, 200.

Cf. further § (5).

(5). *Word-jingles* : Rather frequently, Richards repeats a word, or uses two words of similar sound, giving a jingling effect, often with more or less approach to a pun: e. g. “ ignoble noble blood ” (I. 9); “ from the direct to ways directly ill ” (I. 15); further, in I. 33, 34-5, 168-9, 181-3; III. 328; IV. 12, 160, 178-9; V. 38, 78-9.

(6). *Asyndeton* : In actual construction, one of the style-characteristics of *Messalina* is frequent asyndeton: e. g. I. 211-4, 258-9, 283 ff. 353-4; II. 83-4, 137, 180-8, 237-243; 295, 300, 510-20, 524; III. 334, 337, IV. 80-1, 120, 203, 206, 230, 263, 311 f.; V. 83.

CAREER.

I, Arthur Rowland Skemp, son of the Unitarian minister Thomas Rowland Skemp, was born at Eccles, Lancashire, on July 11th 1882. On leaving school I spent three years in business; then, in 1901, entered the Victoria University of Manchester as Lancashire County Council Scholar, and became a member of the Honours School of English Language and Literature under the guidance of Professor C. H. Herford and Professor T. Northcote Toller. I attended, further, lectures by the following Professors and Lecturers: Atkins, Chapman, Johannsen, L. Kastner, V. Kastner, Summers, Tout, Wilkins. In 1904 I graduated as B. A. with 1st class Honours in Eng. Lang. and Lit., and was awarded a University Scholarship. During the next year I lectured on English Language and Literature at the Manchester Technical School and the Central Evening School, also continuing work at the University. In 1905 the Council of the University elected me to the Faulkner Fellowship in Arts, and I proceeded to the University of Berlin. There I entered the English Seminar under Professor Dr Alois Brandl, and attended, in addition to his lectures, those of Profs. Heusler, Paszkowski and Röthe. In March, 1906, I was appointed Lector in English at the Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität, Strassburg ^{1/2}E. Here I attended the lectures of Profs. Baeumker, Koeppel, and Ziegler.

In March, 1907, I proceeded to the degree of M. A. at the Victoria University of Manchester.

To all my teachers I desire to express my sincere thanks; above all, to Professor Dr Emil Koeppel, who suggested the subject of the present work, and in its execution gave me the constant stimulus and guidance of his profound knowledge of the older English drama, and whose unflagging interest in this work is only one incident of a kindness which has never varied.

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